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BREAKDOWN OF GANDHI—JINNAH PARLEYS

'Not Final End Of Our Effort' Says Qaid-e-Azam

Mahatma Does Not See 'Two Nations' Theory In Lahore Resolution

GANDHIJI'S PROPOSALS MEETING SUBSTANCE OF LEAGUE'S DEMAND TURNED DOWN

BOMBAY, SEPT. 27:—GANDHI-JINNAH TALKS ENDED AT 19-05 (I. S. T.) TODAY.

At the end of the talks Mr. Jinnah in a brief statement said: "I regret to say I have failed in the task of converting Gandhi. We have, therefore, decided to release to the Press the correspondence that has passed between us."

Mr. Jinnah added: "Nevertheless we hope that public will not feel embittered and we trust that this is not the final end of our effort."

GANDHIJI REPRESENTS NONE BUT HIMSELF!

Mr. M. A. Jinnah made the following statement, while releasing the correspondence between him and Mr. Gandhi, at the end of today's meeting:

"Mr. Gandhi from the very commencement of our talks made it clear that he had approached me in his individual capacity and that he represented no one but himself. However, he assured me that he was really open to conviction and conversion to the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of March, 1940.

"Without prejudice to my objection that in order to reach any settlement, negotiations can only be carried on properly when the other side is also fully represented and vested with authority, in deference to Mr. Gandhi's wishes I agreed to the task of persuading and converting him to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution.

"I have placed before him everything and every aspect of the Muslim point of view in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence, and we discussed all the pros and cons generally, and I regret to say that I have failed in my task of converting Mr. Gandhi.

"We have therefore decided to release to the press the correspondence that has passed between us.

"Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered, and we trust that this is not the final end of our effort."

TEXT OF CORRESPONDENCE

The following is the full text of the Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence:

"DILKUSHA",
PANCHGANI
17-7-1944.

BROTHER JINNAH,

There was a day when I could induce you to speak in the mother tongue. To-day I take the courage to write to you in the same language. I had invited you to meet me while I was in jail. I have not written to you since my release. But to-day my heart says that I should write to you. We will meet whenever you choose. Don't regard me as the enemy of Islam or of the Muslims of this country. I am the friend and servant of not only yourself but of the whole world. Do not disappoint me.

Your brother
GANDHI

H. B. "QUEEN ELIZABETH",
SRINAGAR (Kashmir),
24th July 1944.

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I received your letter dated 17th of July here on the 22nd of July, and I thank you for it.

I shall be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return, which will probably be about the middle of August, by that time I hope that you will have recuperated your health fully and will be returning to Bombay. I would like to say nothing more till we meet.

I am very pleased to read in the Press that you are making very good progress, and I hope that you will soon be alright.

Yours sincerely,
JINNAH

M. K. GANDHI, Esq.,
"DILKUSHA",
PANCHGANI

"C. R." FORMULA

Jinnah Wants Clarification

JINNAH'S LETTER TO GANDHI
DATED 10TH SEPT.

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

With reference to our talk yesterday, September 9, I understood from you that you had come to discuss the Hindu-Muslim settlement with me in your individual capacity, and not in any representative character or capacity on behalf of the Hindus or the Congress, nor had you any authority to do so. I naturally pointed out to you that there must be someone on the other side with authority holding a representative status with whom I can negotiate and if possible come to a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question, and that for the position you had adopted there was no precedent, and that this raises great difficulties in my way. As you know, I can only speak on behalf of Muslim India and the All-India Muslim League, as the President of the organisation which I represent, and as such I am subject to and governed by its constitution, rules and regulations. I think you realize and will admit that the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question is the foremost and the major hurdle, and unless the representatives of these two nations put their heads together how is one to make any headway with it?

"OCEAN BETWEEN YOU AND ME"

Nevertheless, I explained to you the Lahore Resolution of March, 1940, and tried to persuade you to accept the basic and fundamental principles embodied in that resolution, but you not only refused to consider it but emphasized your opposition to the basic indicated in that resolution, and remarked that there was "an ocean between you and me", and when I asked you what is then the alternative you suggest, you put forward a formula of Mr. Rajagopalachari, approved of by you. We discussed it, and as the various matters were vague and nebulous, and some required clarification, I wanted to have a clear idea of what it really meant, and what were its implications, and asked you for explanation and clarification regarding the proposals embodied in that formula. After some discussion, you requested me to formulate in writing my points that I thought required or called for explanation and clarification, and to communicate with you and that you would reply in writing before our next meeting on Monday, September 11, at 5-30 P.M.

JINNAH WANTS CLARIFICATION

"I am, therefore, submitting to you the following points which require clarification:—

(1) With regard to the preamble: In what capacity will you be a consenting party if any agreement is reached between you and me?

(2) Clause 1: With regard to "the constitution for Free India" referred to in this clause, I would like to know first, what constitution do you refer to, who will frame it, and when will it come into being?

Next, it is stated in the formula that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence." Does it mean the Congress demand for Independence as formulated in the August Resolution of 1942 by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term, for you know the Muslim League has made it clear not only by its resolutions but by its creed, which is embodied in its constitution, that we stand for the freedom and independence of the whole of this sub-continent, and that applies to Pakistan and Hindustan.

Next it is stated that the Muslim League "will co-operate with the Congress in its formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period." I would like to know the basis or the lines on which such a Government is to be set up or constituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me have it.

(3) Clause 2: Who will appoint the Commission referred to in this clause and who will give effect to their findings? What is the meaning of "absolute majority" referred to in it? Will the contemplated plebiscite be taken districtwise or, if not, on what basis? Who will determine and decide whether such a plebiscite should be based on adult franchise or other practicable franchise? Who will give effect to the decision or verdict of the above mentioned plebiscite? Would only the districts on the border which are taken out from the boundaries of the present provinces by delimitation be entitled to choose to join either State or also those outside the present boundaries would have the right to choose to join either State?

(4) Clause 3: Who are meant by "all parties" in this clause?

(5) Clause 4: I would like to know between whom and through what machinery and agency will the "mutual agreements", referred to in this clause be entered into? What is meant by "safeguarding defence and commerce communications and for other essential purposes"? Safeguarding against whom?

(6) Clause 6: "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India." I would like to know to whom is this power to be transferred, through what machinery and agency, and when?

These are some of the important points that occur to me for the moment, which require explanation and clarification, and hope that you will let me have full details with regard to the various points that I have rais-

(Continued on page 2)

SCHUSCHNIGG ALIVE

NEW YORK: "The New York Times" reports from Vatican City that it has been learnt that Kurt Schuschnigg, former Chancellor of Austria, is alive and a prisoner in Buchenwalde concentration camp.

Nazi Agents Still In Spanish Morocco!

LONDON Sept. 27: Mr. Eden informed the House of Commons to-day that the German Consulate in Tangier has been closed and the entire staff withdrawn. But the British Government has informed the Spanish Government that there are still at least four German agents in Tangier and a greater number in Spanish Morocco.

Mr. Eden said that the Spanish Government is being left in no doubt that the British Government don't regard this partial fulfilment of their undertaking as satisfactory and are insisting on a rapid and complete disposal of this question.

Earl Of Munster For India

LONDON, Sept. 27.

Mr. Amery announced in the Commons today that the Under-Secretary of State for India, the Earl of Munster, is going to India to examine welfare arrangements for British troops. —Reuter.

Former Nasik Bishop For Saint Albans Bishopric

LONDON, Sept. 26.

The King has nominated Doctor Philip Henry Loyd former Lord Bishop of Nasik, Deccan, for election by the Dean and Chapter of Saint Albans, as Bishop of Saint Albans in place of Doctor Michael Bolton Furse, it was announced to-night.—Reuter.

U. S. CASUALTIES IN INVASION OF PATAUS

PEARL HARBOUR, Sept. 27: A Communique issued by Admiral Chester Nimitz, C.-in-C., Pacific, states that 686 Americans had been killed, 406 missing and 4,408 wounded in the invasion of Pataus up to September 25.—Reuter.

Shooting during prayers!

More Allied Landings

Nazi Counterattack Near Marsal Repulsed

LONDON, Sept. 27.

The German Overseas News Agency reported new British airborne landings yesterday southeast of Nijmegen and near Veghel.

S. H. A. E. F. Communique

S. H. A. E. F., Sept. 27: Today's "communique" from General Eisenhower's Headquarters said: "Allied troops have again repulsed enemy moves threatening our communications along the Eindhoven-Nijmegen road.

An enemy counter-attack in the vicinity of Marsal East of Nancy was repulsed.

British Troops Withdrawn From Arnhem

S. H. A. E. F., Sept. 27.

Troops of the First British Air-borne Division who made a heroic stand west of Arnhem have now been withdrawn to the south bank of the Lower Waal. The operation was carried out mainly during Monday night and has now been completed. Some of the wounded had to left on the north bank of the river where they are being taken care of by the Germans.—Reuter.

Indian Speaker In New York Advocates Modernizing Farming

NEW YORK, Sept. 25:—Ramkrishna Sahu Moduk, former member of the Bombay Legislative Council now lecturing in the United States for the East-West Association of which Pearl Buck is president, and other private groups, said that the people of India would welcome the cooperation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in modernizing their agriculture.

Moduk, who recently conferred with agricultural officials in Washington, said: "Indian agriculture must develop as extensively as American agriculture has. When the United Nations after the war are members of one great family, it should be possible for India to use agricultural extension methods which have succeeded in America."

(Agricultural extension services, under governmental or private educational auspices, bring specialized agricultural information directly to farm homes and communities.)

"Thousands of young men and women in India should be trained in short courses in agriculture and its adjuncts. I shall be very glad to see a large number of Indian students brought to the United States for practical training in extension work. I should also like to see a great training centre for agricultural extension methods started in India. Moduk, who has large farm in India producing diverse grain and fruit crops, believes better farming techniques would release many agricultural workers to build up the industries India also needs.

"If the Indian economy is to be raised and maintained on a high level," he said, "India's farms must be productive. If India is to remain predominantly agricultural, then Indian farming must be improved. Unless India has a strong economy she can neither buy nor sell. India needs to be a dependable buyer as well as seller, for own sake as well as for the benefit of the United Nations.

"India's farm population should be reduced at least by 50 per cent and people freed from farm work should go into industries. For this purpose India must be well industrialized."—U.S.O.W.I.

LATEST COMMERCIAL

COTTON (DECEMBER.)
NEW YORK, Sept. 27.

Previous Closing	21.86
Today's Opening	21.80
Difference	—06
Today's Closing	21.91
Difference	+05

Battle For Riga

Nazi Bid To Hold Back Red Army

MOSCOW, Sept. 27: From Reuter's special correspondent:

The Germans today are making a supreme effort to hold back the Red Army from Riga.

The stake now is large for what is left of Hitler's shattered Nord Group and the last important port in the Baltic Republics.

Latest reports from the front tell of tense battles and very bloody encounters in which Soviet troops have wrested away more villages and road knots. Whole German units are being bled to death in this Baltic battle, while enemy losses in tanks, guns and lorries are even greater. A huge area has become what one eye-witness calls "the graveyard of an army" with columns of smoke from funeral pyres or blazing vehicles.

GERMAN COMMENTATOR'S ADMISSION

The German Overseas News Agency Military Commentator, Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Oiberg, said tonight that Russians have occupied all of Estonia.

He commented: "The Russians have reached their first objective—they have pushed their front to the Baltic. They are now going over to their second task—to encircle and throw into the sea, the German Army group concentrated round Riga."

Tuesday's Soviet communique says: Soviet troops occupied the town of Turka in Southern Poland in the Carpathians, 45 miles south-east of Sanok. It is on the railway which runs from Lvov through the Carpathnans to the Czech town of Uzhorod.

MORE TOWNS TAKEN

A supplement to the communique said that in the Riga direction Soviet troops advancing along the coast of the Gulf of Riga occupied the towns of Aliaze and Salatgriva and the town and railway station of Aloije. South of the town of Valmiora after ferocious battles Soviet troops captured Ceis. Nodlienna, 37 miles east of Riga has been captured.

Twelve Soviet Stormoviks aircraft escorted by fighters raided the railway station of Stalupennen in Eastern Prussia.

TWO NAZI SHIPS SUNK

Warships of the Baltic Fleet sank a German submarine in the Gulf of Finland. Air arm torpedo-carrying aircraft sank two German transports of 7,000 tons in the Baltic.

ITALIAN PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT

ROME, Sept. 26

The Italian Government has issued a communique on the new agreement reached between political parties to permit the Bonomi Government to carry on its work.

AMBASSADORS TO ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

Italy is to have a greater degree of self-government and is to be invited to appoint "direct representatives" to London and Washington. These developments in the diplomatic relations between Britain and United States and Italy, twelve months after Italy's exit from the war were announced to-night by Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt in a joint statement. —Reuter.

CAPT. A. H. M. RAMSAY RELEASED

LONDON, Sept. 26: The Conservative Member of Parliament, for Peebles, Capt. Archibald Henry Maule Ramsay, who had been detained under Regulation 18-B for over four years, was released from the Brixton prison to-night. The Home Secretary, announced the release in the House of Commons earlier to-day.—Reuter.

Pierlot Forms Belgian Cabinet

LONDON, Sept. 26.

The Brussels Radio to-night announced the formation of a new Belgian Government which has 19 Ministers—seven Catholics, five Socialists, three Liberals, two Non-Party men and two Communists.

This is the first time Communists have been represented in the Belgian Government. The principal Ministers of the new Government are Prime Minister, Hubert Pierlot, Foreign Affairs, Paul Henri Spaak, and Colonies, De Vleeschauwer.

KASTURBA NATIONAL FUND

The total of collections (as per list No. 36) Rs. 17,08,148.

Mahatma On Failure Of Parleys

No Room For Despondency; It Is Incentive For Greater Effort

That he had tried his level best to go as far as he could to meet Mr. Jinnah's view point, that he had taken incalculable pains to understand Mr. Jinnah and to make himself understood, but had failed, was the declaration made by Mahatma Gandhi, speaking at his prayer meeting this evening.

He observed, however, that there was no despondency in him. He asked the public not to lose heart and suggested that failure should only serve as a spur to further effort.

Addressing the audience in Gujarati on the result of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, Gandhiji said he was not speaking to them in Hindustani as before, because he wanted his words to go straight to the hearts of the audience most of whom were Gujaratis. He had particularly the women in mind who were not accustomed to Hindustani speech.

Referring to the leakage of the correspondence between him and the Qaid-e-Azam and its unauthorised publication in a certain section of the press, he observed that he had warned the press before against indulging in conjectures, because he felt that would damage the cause. But what had appeared in the press now was more than a mere conjecture. It seemed that they had somehow managed to get actual copies of the correspondence. Perhaps, it was clever on their part, but that did them little credit. Journalism like every institution had its own code of ethics and he was not there to pass judgement. All he could say was that he himself had perhaps followed a different code of ethics even in the field of journalism.

He assured them that the leakage had not occurred from his office, and he had strong reasons for his belief. He had the other day drawn the Qaid-e-Azam's attention to the leakage, but the Qaid-e-Azam was indifferent. Public men had to cultivate that indifference or else life would become impossible. But it was for the public not to take relish in such happenings. If the public strongly disapproved all such practices, the press would not repeat them. It was intolerable that any one should try to pry into and give publicity to private correspondence without authority.

He had told them that when the talks were over, he would let them know the result. That stage had been reached yesterday, but as copies of the correspondence were not ready, its actual release had to be postponed till to-day. Authorised copies of the correspondence had now been sent to the press with a prefatory statement by the Qaid-e-Azam.

Hitherto, he had told them that he was not without hope with regard to the outcome of the talks. He had to confess that the result that he was hoping for had not materialised. But he had no sense of disappointment or despondency. He was convinced that even out of that breakdown, good would result.

Although the Qaid-e-Azam and he had known each other fairly well in public life before, they had never come into such close personal contact. Their conversations were carried out with friendliness and cordiality. He wanted all the communities to cultivate the same spirit of friendliness and cordiality in their relations with one another. They should try to convert one another through it.

They might ask, "Why was it then that he and the Qaid-e-Azam had failed to convert each other." His reply was that he had tried his level best to go as far as he could to meet the Qaid-e-Azam's viewpoint. He had taken incalculable pains to understand him and to make himself understood. But he had failed.

He had placed before the Qaid-e-Azam Rajaji's formula, but that did not commend itself to him. He had thereupon put forth another proposal of his own in its place, but even that had failed to secure Jinnah Saheb's aproval. In the same way, Jinnah Saheb's proposal had failed to commend itself to him. If either of them had been weak, they would have possibly come to some sort of agreement, but as responsible men, then could not afford to be weak. A helmsman had to be firm and unwavering, or else the ship would founder upon the rocks. Each one of them had tried to convince the other. It was possible that both of them might be in the wrong. But so long as each felt himself to be in the right, he could not let go his hold.

The news of the breakdown, he knew, would cause grief to the friends of India and might give cause for jubilation to their enemies. He drew their attention to the last sentence in Mr. Jinnah's statement in which he had said that it was not the final end of their effort.

Although they had been unable to appreciate each other's viewpoint, the public could help them to do so. They should not lose heart. If there was any one who had reason to feel disappointed it was he. He had knocked at the Qaid-e-Azam's door. But as he had already observed, there was no despondency in him. It was not for a vitary of truth and non-violence to feel despondent if his effort at times failed to yield the result aimed at. Failure should only serve as a spur to further effort. God alone knew what was best for them. It was not for them to question God's ways. Therefore, instead of feeling despondent, they should regard the breakdown as a challenge to their faith and as an incentive for greater effort for establishing true unity among the various communities.

Gandhiji To Stay Till Saturday

BOMBAY, Wednesday

After Mr. M. A. Jinnah handed over copies of his statement and correspondence with Gandhiji in the course of his prolonged talks, announcing his failure to convert Gandhiji, he said that he had nothing more to add. If Gandhiji wanted to say anything more he might do so. At the request of pressmen, Gandhiji agreed to hold a conference to-morrow.

Gandhiji will leave for Sevagram on Saturday. He has still to "wind up certain things" and clear some arrears of work during his stay here.

JAPS WON'T CRACK WHEN NAZIS GO

MELBOURNE, Sept. 26: Gen. Sir Thomas Blamey, the Commander of the Allied land forces in the South-west Pacific, declared in a broadcast: "Many Australians smugly believe that the Japanese will crack when the Nazis go. But there are 90,000 Japanese bypassed in our advance who have yet to be dealt with and these fanatics will fight to the death. We have had to rest and reorganise. Over 1,400,000 men have been treated in mainland hospitals since the fighting began."—Reuter.

KHUHRO BEING TAKEN TO SUKKUR

KARACHI, Sept. 27: Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro, former Revenue Minister, Sind, who was arrested yesterday was this afternoon produced before the District Magistrate of Karachi, Mr. E. H. Holt.

It is understood that the police officer informed the Magistrate that Khan Bahadur Khuhro was being taken immediately to Sukkur, where the trial will take place.

The seven persons who were arrested in Larkana last week, including Daresh, the main accused in the Allahbaksh Murder Case, are also being taken to Sukkur.—A. P.

Bail Rejected

An application for bail on behalf of Khan Bahadur Khuhro was argued before the District Magistrate of Karachi by Mr. Dingomal Barrister, this morning. It was, however, rejected.

Khan Bahadur Khuhro was taken to Sukkur by the Lahore Mail this afternoon to stand his trial there.

INDIAN CLOTH FOR FOREIGN EXPORT

Textile Commissioner's Circular To Mills For 600 Million Yards

(From Our Correspondent)

AHMEDABAD, Sept. 27.

The Textile Commissioner recently sent a private circular to Indian mills asking about 600 million yards of cloth for countries abroad.

It is understood, the Textile Commissioner has sent reminder to the mills owing to a protest from several quarters against any foreign export. It is explained that Indian mill industry should provide this quantity even to maintain international market relations.

JAPS BREAK CONTACT ON TIDDIM ROAD

KANDY, Sept. 27.

Today's SEAC Communique says the Japanese have broken contact with the 5th Indian Division moving south on the Tiddim road. Allied aircraft attacked the Mandalay railway yards and road transport at Wanling on the Burma-China border. A direct hit destroyed a road bridge south-east of Bhamo.

U. S. PLANS BOMB NANKING AND CANTON

CHUNGKING, Sept. 27.—American 'Liberators' bombed rail and warehouse targets in Nanking in Anhwei Province of Eastern China on Sunday, and Mitchells' attacked aerodromes at Canton in south-eastern China. Liberators also attacked 8,000 tons of shipping in Formosa Strait between the island of Formosa and China coast.—Reuter.

Daresh, other accused, has been removed to Sukkur.

A few more arrests are expected. —United Press.

BATTLE OVER 'SELF-DETERMINATION'

Gandhiji Refuses To Accept Jinnah's New Theory Of "Two Nations"

(Continued from page 1)

ed, in order that I may be better able to understand and judge your proposals before I can deal with them satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

MAHATMA GANDHI.
Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
BOMBAY.

Mahatma Explains

Gandhi's letter dated September 11.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

I received your letter yesterday at 3-30 p.m. I was in the midst of appointments. I hasten to reply at the earliest opportunity.

I have said in my letter to you, it is implied in the Rajaji Formula and *I have stated publicly that I have* approached you as an individual. My life mission has been Hindu-Muslim Unity, which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved *without the foreign ruling Power* being ousted.

Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India.

If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together. I am glad, therefore, that you did not *break off our talks when I refused to* assume or accept representative capacity.

Of course, I am pledged to use all the influence I may have with the Congress to ratify my agreement with you.

May I remind you that the Rajaji Formula was designed in the first instance for your acceptance and submission thereafter to the League.

It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that had no reference to the Lahore Resolution of the League. The Lahore Resolution is indefinite. Rajaji has taken from it the substance and given it a shape.

Now for the points raised by you.

1. I have already answered this in the foregoing.

2. The constitution will be framed by the Provisional Government contemplated in the Formula or an authority specially set up by it after the British Power is withdrawn. The Independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands.

The basis for the formation of the Provisional Interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress.

3. The Commission will be appointed by the Provisional Government. 'Absolute majority' means a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province. The form of plebiscite and the franchise must be a matter for discussion.

4. "All parties" means parties interested.

5. "Mutual agreement" means agreement between contracting parties. "Safeguarding defence, etc.," means for me as Central or Joint Board of Control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy.

6. The power is to be transferred to the nation, that is to the Provisional Government. The Formula contemplates peaceful transfer by the British Government. So far as I am concerned I would like the transfer to take place as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

QAID-I-AZAM M. A. JINNAH.
BOMBAY.

Jinnah Recalls Lahore Speech

MR. JINNAH'S LETTER DATED 11-9-1944

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I received your letter of September 11 at 5 p.m. to-day.

I note that you have approached me as an individual, and I have already expressed my views about it. Please do not take it that I acquiesce in the position that you have adopted for which there is no precedent.

Nevertheless I proceeded to discuss matters with you naturally because I am anxious to convert you to my point of view if possible. I urged you that the only solution of India's problem is to accept the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan, as briefly laid down in the Lahore Resolution of March, 1940, and proceed to settle the details forthwith. You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the resolution, but you really indicated your emphatic opposition to the very basis and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would, therefore, like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite. I cannot agree that Rajaji has taken from it its substance and given it shape. On the contrary he has not only put it out of shape but mutilated it, as I explained in my speech which I delivered at the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore on the 30th of July, 1944.

"PUTTING CART BEFORE HORSE"

You say the "first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together". This in my opinion is, as I have repeatedly said, putting the cart before the horse and is generally opposed to the policy and declarations of the All-India Muslim League, and you are only holding on firmly to the August Resolution of 1942. In order to achieve the freedom and independence of the peoples of India it is essential in the first instance, that there should be a Hindu-Muslim settlement. Of course, I am thankful to you when you say that you are pledged to use all the influence that you have with the Congress to ratify your agreement with me, but that is not enough in my judgment, although it will be a very valuable help to me.

I once more ask you please to let me know what is your conception of the basis for the formation of a Provisional Interim Government. No doubt it will be subject to agreement between the League and the Congress, but I think in fairness you should at least give me some rough idea or lines of your conception, for you must have thought it out by now, and I would like to know what are your proposals or scheme for the formation of a Provisional Interim Government, which can give me some clear picture to understand it.

QUESTIONS NOT REPLIED

(3) You have omitted to answer my question as to who will give effect to the findings of the Commission, and also it is not clear to me what you mean by absolute majority, when you say it means 'a clear majority over non-Muslim elements as in Sind, Baluchistan or the Frontier Province". You have not even replied to my *question as to who will decide the* form of the plebiscite and the Franchise contemplated by the Formula.

(4) The answer does not carry any clear idea when you say "all parties means parties interested."

(5) You say "mutual agreement means agreement between contracting parties". Who are the contracting parties once a Provisional Interim Government is established of your conception? Who will appoint the Central or Joint Board of Control, which will safeguard defence, etc., and on what principle, through what machinery and agency, and subject to whose control and orders will such a Central or Joint Board be?

(6) You say "the power is to be transferred to the nation, that is to *the Provisional Government." That is* all the greater reason why I would like to know full details of the Provisional Government as contemplated by you and of your conception.

Yours Sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

MAHATMA GANDHI,
Birla House,
Malabar Hill,
BOMBAY.

Jinnah Demands Reply

MR. JINNAH'S LETTER DATED SEPT. 13 1944.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

When you arrived here on the morning of the 12th to resume our talks you were good enough to inform me that you had not had time to attend to my letter of September 11, which reached you the same day at 10/30 p.m. We met again today without having received your reply, and I am still waiting for it. Please, therefore, let me have your reply as soon as possible with regard to the various points mentioned in my letter to you of September 11th.

Yours Sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Mahatma Gandhi, Birla House,
Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

League's Lahore Resolution

Gandhiji's letter of 14th Sept. 1944.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam.

I have your letter of 13th inst. I understood from our talks that you were in no hurry for my answer. I was therefore taking the matter in a leisurely fashion even hoping that as our talks proceeded and as cordiality increased, mutual clarification would come of itself and that we would only have to record our final agreement. But I understand and appreciate the other view point. We should take nothing for granted. I should clarify your difficulties in understanding the Rajaji Formula and you should do likewise regarding yours, i.e., the Muslim League Lahore Resolution of 1940.

With reference to the Lahore resolution, as agreed between us, I shall deal with it in a separate letter.

Perhaps at the end of our discussion, we shall discover that Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it, but has given it substance and form.

Indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have at any rate, for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement.

So much for the first paragraph of your letter.

"OUST THE THIRD PARTY"

As to the second, I do hold that unless we oust the Third Party, we shall not be able to live at peace with one another. That does not mean that I may not make an effort to find ways and means of establishing living peace between us.

You ask for my conception of the basis for a Provisional Interim Government. I would have told you if I had any scheme in mind. I imagine that if we two can agree, it would be for us to consult the other parties.

I can say this, that any Provisional Government to inspire confidence at the present moment must represent all parties. When that moment arrives, I shall have been replaced by some authoritative person, though you will have me always at your beck and call when you have converted me or I you, or mutual conversion we have become of one mind functioning through two bodies.

As to the third point the Provisional Government being the appointing authority will give effect to the findings of the Commission. This I thought was implied in my previous answer.

"ABSOLUTE MAJORITY"

Rajaji tells me that "absolute majority" is used in his Formula in the same sense as it is used in ordinary legal parlance wherever more than two groups are dealt with. I cling to my own answer. But you will perhaps suggest a third meaning and persuade me to accept it.

The form of the plebiscite and franchise must be left to be decided by the Provisional Interim Government unless we decide it now.

I should say it should be by adult suffrage of all the inhabitants of the Pakistan area.

As to the fourth "all parties" means you and I and every one else holding views on the question at issue, will and should seek by peaceful persuasion to influence public opinion as is done where democracy functions wholly or in part.

As to fifth, supposing that the result of the plebiscite is in favour of partition, the Provisional Government will draft the treaty and agreements as regards the administration of matters of common interest, but the same has to be confirmed and ratified by the Governments of the two States. The machinery required for the settlement and administration of matters of common interest will, in the first instance, be planned by the Interim Government, but subsequently will be matter for settlement between the two governments acting through the agencies appointed by each for that purpose.

As to sixth, I hope the foregoing makes superfluous any further reply

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Qaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah Saheb,
BOMBAY.

"Independence Of Whole Of India"

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated 14th September 1944.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I received your letter of September 14 at 4-45 p.m. Today in reply to my letter of September 11 (and not of September 13 as you state, which seems to be a mistake) and I thank you for it.

(1) *Please let me have as soon as you can your promised letter indi*cating in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is 'indefinite.'

(2) With regard to the provision in the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, that "the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence" I asked you in my letter dated September 10, "does it *mean the Congress demand for Independence as formulated in* the August 1942 resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay or, if not, what is the significance of this term", to which you replied by *your letter of September 11, "the* Independence contemplated is of the whole of India as it stands." Hence I again ask, does it mean on the basis of a united India? I find that *you have not clarified the point satis*factorily.

BASIS OF PROVISIONAL INTERIM GOVT.

As regards the next part of this clause, the formula proceeds to lay down that "the Muslim League will *co-operate with the Congress in the* formation of the provisional Interim Government for the transitional period". I requested you by my letter of September 10 to let me know "the basis or the lines of which such a *Government is to be set up or con*stituted. If you have a complete and definite scheme, please let me *have it*", to which you replied by your letter of September 11 under reply that "the basis for the formation of the provisional Interim Government will have to be agreed to between the League and the Congress." But that is not meeting my request for clarification or giving me at least the *outlines of such a Government*, and that is what I have been asking for. I hope that you do appreciate my point when I am requesting you to let me have rough outlines of the proposed provisional Interim Government according to the formula, so that I may have some idea Of course, I can quite understand that such a provisional Interim Government will represent all the parties and would be of a character that will inspire confidence at the present moment of all the parties. I can quite understand that when the moment arrives certain things may follow but before we can deal with this formula in a satisfactory manner I repeat again that, as it is your formula, you should give me a rough idea of the provisional Interim Government that you contemplate and of your conception. What I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional Interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible, and what will be its composition, etc. You, being the sponsor of this Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, should give me some ropgh idea and picture of it, so that I may understand what this part of the formula means.

In your letter of September 14 in reply to my letter of September 11 you inform me that you would have told me if you had any scheme in mind. "I imagine that if we two can agree, it would be for us to consult the other parties", but that is just the point. Unless I have some outlines or scheme, however rough, from you, what are we to discuss in order to reach any agreement?

As regards the other matters which you have further explained, I have noted the explanation, and I do not think I need press you further, although some of them are not quite satisfactory.

Your Sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Two Nation Theory

GANDHIJI'S LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 15

DEAR QAID-I-AZAM,

This is in terms of our talk of Wednesday 13th inst.

For the moment, I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League.

You must admit that the resolution itself makes no reference to the Two Nations' theory. In the course of our discussions, you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, i.e. Hindus and Muslims and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs. The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it was true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children.

You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam? Will Bengalis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamilians, Maharashtrians, Gujaratis etc. cease to have their special characteristics if all of them became converts to Islam? These have all become one politically because they are subject to one foreign control. They are trying today to throw off that subjection.

NEW TEST OF NATIONHOOD

You seem to have introduced a new test of nationhood. If I accept it, I would have to subscribe to many more claims and face an insoluble problem.

The only real though awful test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection. If you and I throw off this subjection by our combined effort we shall be born a politically free nation out of our travail. If by then we have not learnt to prize our freedom, we may quarrel among ourselves and for want of a common master holding us together in his iron grip, seek to split up into small groups or nationalities. There will be nothing to prevent us from descending to that level and we shall not have to go in search of a master. There are many claimants to the throne that never remains vacant.

With this background, I shall present you with my difficulty in accepting your resolution.

(1) Pakistan is not in the resolution. Does it bear the original meaning Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan out of which the name was Mnemonically formed? if not what is it?

(2) Is the goal of Pakistan panislam?

(3). What is it that distinguishes an Indian Muslim from every other Indian, if not his religion.

Is he different from a Turk or an Arab?

(4). What is the connotation of the word "Muslims" in the resolution un*der discussion? Does it mean the* Muslims of India of Geography or of the Pakistan to be.

(5). Is the resolution addressed to the Muslims by way of education, or to the inhabitants of the whole of India by way of appeal or to the foreign ruler as an ultimatum?

(6). Are the constituents in the two zones to constitute 'independent *states", an undefined number in each* zone?

(7). Is the demarcation to take place during the pendency of British rule?

*(8). If the answer to the last ques*tion is in the affirmative, the proposal must be accepted first by Britain and then imposed upon India, not evolved from within by the free will of the people of India!!!

(9). Have you examined the position and satisfied yourself that these 'independents states' will be materially and otherwise benefited by being split up into fragments?

(10). Please satisfy me that these *independent sovereign states will not* become a collection of poor states, a menace to themselves and to the rest of India.

(11). Pray show me by facts and figures or otherwise how independence and welfare of India as a whole can be brought about by the acceptance of the resolution?

(12). How are the Muslims under the princes to be disposed of as a result of this scheme?

(13). What is your definition of "minorities"?

(14). Will you please define the "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" for minorities referred to in the second part of the resolution?

(15). Do you not see that the Lahore Resolution contains only a bare statement of the objective and does not give any idea as to the means to be adopted for the execution of the idea and the concrete corollaries thereof, for instance.

(a) Are the people in the regions falling under the plan to have any voice in the matter of separation and, if so, how is it to be ascertained?

*(b) What is the provision for de*fence and similar matters of common concern contemplated in the Lahore resolution?

MUSLIM DISSENTIENTS

(c) There are many groups of Muslims who have continuously expressed dissent from the policy of the League. While I am prepared to accept the preponderating influence and position of the League and have approached you for that very reason, is it not our joint duty to remove their doubts and carry them with us by making them feel that they and their supporters have not been practically disfranchised?

(d) Does this not lead again to placing the resolution of the League before the people of the zones concerned as a whole for acceptance?

As I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India. Believe me I approach you as a seeker. Though I represent nobody but myself, I aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, for I realise in my own person their misery and degradation which is their common lot irrespective of class, caste or creed. I know that you have acquired a unique hold on the Muslim masses. I want you to use your influence for their total welfare, which must include the rest.

In this hastily written letter, I have only given an inkling of my difficulty.

Your sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

Rajaji's Formula

Gandhiji's second letter dated Sept. 15.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

I have yours of the Fourteenth inst. received at 9-40 a. m.

I woke up at three a. m. today to finish my promised letter on the Lahore Resolution.

There is no mistake about the date for I wrote in answer to your reminder of the 13th inst.

Independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942. But it cannot be on the basis of a united India.

If we come to a settlement, it would be on the basis of the settlement, assuming of course that it secures general acceptance in the country. The process will be somewhat like this. We reach by joint effort independence for India as it stands. India become free, will proceed to demarcation, plebiscite and partition if the people concerned vote for partition. All this is implied in the Rajaji Formula.

As to the provisional Interim Government, I am afraid I cannot carry my answer any further than I have done. Though I have no scheme for the provisional Government, if you have one in connection with the Lahore Resolution, which also I presume requires an Interim Government, we can discuss it.

The Formula was framed by Rajaji in good faith. I accepted it in equally good faith. The hope was that you would look at it with favour. We still think it to be the best in the circumstances. You and I have to put flesh on it, if we can. I have explained the process we have to go through. You have no objection to it. Perhaps you want to know how I would form the provisional Government if I was invited thereto. If I was in that unenviable position, I would see all the claimants and endeavour to satisfy them. My cooperation will be available in that task.

I can give you full satisfaction about your inquiry. "what I would like to know would be, what will be the powers of such a provisional Interim Government, how it will be formed, to whom it will be responsible", the provisional Interim Government will be responsible to the elected members of the present assembly or a newly elected one. It will have all the powers less that of the Commander-in-Chief during the war and full powers thereafter. It will be the authority to give effect to the agreement that may be arrived at between the League and the Congress and ratified by the other parties.

Your sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Qaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah Saheb,

"Two Major Nations"

Mr. Jinnah's letter dated September 17.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have your letter of September 15th, and I thank you for it. I note that you have for the moment shunted the Rajaji Formula and are *applying your mind very seriously to* the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim *League. It is my duty to explain* the Lahore Resolution to you to-day and persuade you to accept it, even though you are talking to me, as you have often made it clear, in your individual capacity. I have successfully converted non-Muslim Indians in no small number and also a large body of foreigners. and if I can con*vert you, exercising as you do, tre*mendous influence over Hindu India, it will be no small assistance to me, although we are not proceeding on the footing that you are carrying on *these talks in your representative* character or capacity, and my difficulties remain until you are vested *with a representative status and au*thority in order to negotiate and reach an agreement with you.

*You have stated in your letter da*ted September 11, that the Lahore Resolution is "indefinite". I therefore naturally asked you to please let me know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite, and *now I have received your letter of* September 15th under reply.

This third paragraph of your *letter is not seeking clarification but a dis*quisition and expression of your views *on the point whether the Mussalmans* are a nation. This matter can hardly be discussed by means of correspondence. There is a great deal of discussion and literature on this point which is available, and it is for you *to judge finally, when you have studied this question thoroughly, whe*ther the Mussalmans and Hindus are *not two major nations in this sub*continent. For the moment, I would refer you to two publications, although there are many more,—Dr. Ambedkar's book and "M. R. T.'s" nationalism in conflict in India. We *maintain and hold that Muslims and* Hindus are two major nations by any definitions or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and pro*portion*, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation.

CLARIFICATION OF LAHORE RESOLUTION

Now I shall reply to your various points:—

(1). Yes, the word "Pakistan" is not mentioned in the resolution and it does not bear the original meaning. The word has now become synonymous with the Lahore Resolution.

(2). This point does not arise, but still I reply that the question is a mere bogey.

(3). This point is covered by my answer that the Mussalmans of India are a nation. As to the last part of your query, it is hardly relevant to the matter of clarification of the resolution.

(4). Surely you know what the word "Muslims" means.

(5). This point does not arise by way of clarification of the text of the Lahore Resolution.

(6). No. They will form units of Pakistan.

(7) As soon as the basis and the principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution are accepted, the question of demarcation will have to be taken up immediately.

(8). In view of my reply to (7), your question (8) has been answered.

(9). Does not relate of clarification.

(10). My answer to (9) covers this point).

(11). Does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution. Surely this is not asking for clarification of the resolution. I have in numerous speeches of mine and the Muslim League in its resolutions have pointed out that this is the only solution of India's problem and the road to achieve freedom and independence of the peoples of India.

(12). "Muslims under the princes" The Lahore resolution is only confined to British India. This question does not arise out of the clarification of the resolution.

(13). The definition of 'minorities' you yourself have often said minorities means accepted minorities".

(14). The adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards for minorities referred to in the resolution are a matter for negotiation and settlement with the minorities in the respective states, viz., Pakistan and Hindustan.

(15). It does give basic principles and when they are accepted, then the details will have to be worked out by the contracting parties.

(A.) Does not arise by way of clarification.

(B). Does not arise, ditto, ditto.

(C). The Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organization of Muslihm India.

(D). No. See answer (C).

As regards your final paragraph before receiving clarifications from me, you have already passed your judgment and condemned the Lahore Resolution, when you say "as I write this letter and imagine the working of the resolution in practice, I see nothing but ruin for the whole of India."

"ROAD TO FREEDOM"

I understand that you have made clear to me that you represent nobody but yourself, and I am trying to persuade you and to convert you that this is the road which will lead us all to the achievement of freedom and independence not only of the two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, but of the rest of the peoples of India, but when you proceed to say that you aspire to represent all the inhabitants of India, I regret I cannot accept that statement of yours. It is quite clear that you represent nobody else but the Hindus, and as long as you do not realize your true position and the realities, it is very difficult for me to argue with you, and it becomes still more difficult to persuade you, and hope to convert you to the realities and the actual conditions prevailing in India today.

I am pleading before you in the hope of converting you, as I have done with many others successfully. As I have said before, you are a great man and you exercise enormous influence over the Hindus, particularly the masses, and by accepting the road that I am pointing out to you, you are not prejudicing or harming the interests of the Hindus or of the minorities. On the contrary, Hindus will be the greater gainers. I am convinced that true welfare not only of the Muslims but the rest of India lies in the division of India as proposed by the Lahore Resolution. It is for you to consider whether it is not your policy and programme in which you have persisted which has been the principal factor of 'ruin of whole of India' and of misery and degradation of *the people to which you refer and which I deplore no less than any*one else. And it is for that very reason I am pleading before you all these days, although you insist that you are having talks with me only in your individual capacity, in the hope that you may yet revise your policy and programme. Yours *sincerely,*

"Let People Approve It"

LETTER FROM GANDHIJI DATED SEPTEMBER 19.

DEAR QAID-I-AZAM,

Many thanks for yours of 17th inst.

I am sorry to have to say that your answers omitting one, two and six do not give satisfaction.

It may be that all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore resolution. But I contend that they are very relevant from the standpoint of a seeker that I am. You cannot expect any one to agree to orshoulder the burden of the claim contained in the Lahore Resolution without for instance answering my questions 15 (A) and 15 (B) which you brush aside as not arising by way of clarification.

Dr. Ambedkar's thesis while it is ably written has carried no convic by you, I am sorry to say, I have tion to me. The other book mentioned not seen.

*Why can you not accept my state*ment that I aspire to represent all the sections that compose the people of India? Do you not aspire? Should not every Indian? That the aspira*tion may never be realised is beside* the point.

I am beholden to you, in spite of your opinion about me, for having patience with me, I hope you will never lose it but will persevere in your effort to convert me. I ask you to take me with my strong views and even prejudices, if I am guilty of any.

As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant. My purpose is as a lover of communal unity to place my services at your disposal.

I hope you do not expect me to accept the Lahore Resolution without understanding its implications. If your letter is the final word, there is little hope. Can we not agree to differ on the question of "two nations" and yet solve the problem on the basis of self-determination? It is this basis that has brought me to you. If the regions holding Muslim majorities have to be separated according to the Lahore Resolution, the grave step of separation should be specifically placed before and approved by the people in that area. Yours sincerely,
Sd. M. K. GANDHI.

Ground For Mutual Agreement

Mr. Jinnah's letter of September 21.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 19th, and I have already given you my answers to all your questions relating to clarification of the Lahore Resolution or any part of it, and I am glad that you admit when you say it may be that 'all my questions do not arise from the view of mere clarification of the Lahore Resolution', but you particularly emphasize your points 15 (a) and 15 (b).

I regret to say it has no relation to the context of the resolution or any part thereof. You have brought so many matters into our correspondence which are entirely outside the matter requiring clarification, so I have perforce to deal with them. Let me first deal with your letter of September 11.

(1) You say "my life mission has been Hindu-Muslim unity which I want for its own sake but which is not to be achieved without the foreign ruling power being ousted. Hence the first condition of the exercise of the right of self-determination is achieving independence by the joint action of all the parties and groups composing India. If such joint action is unfortunately impossible, then too I must fight with the assistance of such elements as can be brought together."

(2) The gist of your letters up to date is that you are wedded to this policy and will pursue it. In your next letter of September 14, while you were good enough to furnish me with the clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, you were pleased to observe: "I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement." In your letter of September 15, you say "independence does mean as envisaged in the A.I.C.C. resolution of 1942"

INIMICAL TO MUSLIM DEMANDS

It is therefore clear that you are not prepared to revise your policy and that you adhere firmly to your policy and programme which you have persisted in and which culminated in your demand, final policy, programme and the method and sanction for enforcing it by resorting to mass civil disobedience in terms of the Eighth August 1942 resolution, and you have made it more clear again by stating in your letter of September 19 as follows: "As to your verdict on my policy and programme, we must agree to differ. For, I am wholly unrepentant." You know that the August 1942 resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. Then again in the course of our discussion which I asked you for clarification of the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, you were pleased to say, by your letter of September 15 as follows: "For the moment I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance am applying my mind very seriously to the famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League." We discussed it in its various aspects, as you told me you were open to be persuaded and converted to our point of view. I discussed the resolution at great length with you, and explained everything you wanted to understand, even though you have emphasized more than once that you are having these talks with me in your personal capacity, and in your letter of September 15 you assured me in the following words with regard to the Lahore Resolution: "Believe me I approach you as a seeker, though I represent nobody but myself", and that you were open to conviction and conversion.

"Our Inherent Right As Muslim Nation"

You had informed me by your letter of September 11 as follows:—"It is true that I said an ocean separated you and me in outlook. But that *had no reference to the Lahore Re*solution of the League. The League Resolution is indefinite." I naturally therefore proceeded in reply to ask you by my letter of September 11 as follows:—"You say the Lahore Resolution is indefinite You never asked me for any clarification or explanation of the terms of the Resolution. but you really indicated your *emphatic opposition to the very basis* and the fundamental principles embodied in it. I would therefore like to know in what way or respect the Lahore Resolution is indefinite", and I sent you a reminder on September 13, to which you replied by your letter of September 15. not confining yourself really to matters of clarification, but introducing other extraneous matters, with some of which I had already dealt, in repy to this letter of yours of September 15, by my letter of September 17, and furnished you with all the clarifications, informing you that you had introduced several matters which could hardly be discussed in a satisfactory manner by means of correspondence. I *have already given you all the cla*rifications you require so far as the Lahore Resolution goes and its text is concerned. You again raise further arguments, reasons and grounds and continue to persist in a disquisition on the point, amongst others, whether Muslims of India are a nation. and then you proceed further *to say: "Can we not agree to differ* on the question of 'two nations and yet solve the problem on the basis of *self-determination"? It seems to me* that you are labouring under some misconception of the real meaning of the word "self-determination."

Apart from the inconsistencies and contradictions of the various positions that you have adopted in the course of our correspondence, as indicated above, can you not appreciate our point of view that we claim the right of self-determination as a nation and not as a territorial unit, and that we are entitled to exercise our inherent right as a Muslim nation, which is our birthright? Whereas you are labouring under the wrong idea that "self-determination" means only that of "a territorial unit" which, by the way, is neither demarcated nor defined yet and there is no union or federal constitution of India in being, functioning as a sovereign Central Government. Ours is a case of division and carving out two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations, Hindus and Muslims, and not of severance or secession from any existing union, which is non-existent in India. The right of self-determination which we claim postulates that we are a nation, and as such it would be the self-determination of the Mussalmans, and they alone are entitled to exercise that right.

I hope you will now understand that your question 15 (A) does not arise out of the Lahore Resolution or of any part thereof. As to 15 (B), again it does not arise as a matter of clarification, for it will be a matter for the constitution-making body chosen by Pakistan to deal with and decide all matters as a sovereign body representing Pakistan vis-a-vis the constitution making body of Hindustan or any other party concerned. There cannot be defence and similar matters of "common concern", when it is accepted that Pakistan and Hindustan will be two separate independent sovereign states. I hope I have now given all satisfactory explanations, over and above the matter of clarification of the Lahore Resolution in the hope of converting you as an individual "seeker".

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Plea For Arbitration

Gandhiji's letter dated Sept. 22.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam

Your letter of yesterday (21st inst.) so disturbed me that I thought I would postpone my reply till after we had met at the usual time. Though I made no advance at our meeting I think I see somewhat clearly what you are driving at. The more I think about, the two nations gives me no help. It contains half truths and its conclusions or inferences are unwarranted.

I am unable to accept the proposition that the Muslims of India are a nation distinct from the rest of the inhabitants of India. Mere assertion is no proof. The consequences of accepting such a proposition are dangerous in the extreme. Once the principle is admitted there would be no limit to claims for cutting up India into numerous divisions which would spell India's ruin. I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be.

You seem to be averse to a plebiscite. In spite of the admitted importance of the League, there must be clear proof that the people affected desire partition. In my opinion, all the people inhabiting the area ought to express their opinion specifically on this single issue division. Adult suffrage is the best method but I would accept any other equivalent.

You summarily reject the idea of common interest between the two arms. I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical continuity.

Your letter shows a wide divergence of opinion and outlook between us. Thus you adhere to the opinion often expressed by you that the August 1942 resolution is "inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." There is no proof for this sweeping statement.

We seem to be moving in a circle. I have made a suggestion. If we are bent on agreeing, as I hope

(Continued on page 5)

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TAJ GRANT RD. CORNER
Daily: 4-30, 7-15 & 10-15
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Ad. Booking: 10 to 12 & 4 to 6
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Director: SOHRAB MODI
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Starring: JAYASHREE
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LOVE & LIFE
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SUVARNALATA, ULLHAS, YAKUB, MAZHARKHAN
& a new find SAGUNA
Produced & Directed By MAZHARKHAN
An Evergreen Release
NEXT CHANGE AT CAPITOL

CITY AND SUBURBS

To-day

Hindu: Asoe Shud 11, 2000
Muslim: Savval 9, 1363
Parsi: Farvardin 25, 1314
Sunrise: 7-29 a.m.
Sunset 7-30 p.m.

Domestic Occurrence

DEATH.

DANI: Mathuradas Kaldas Dani, father of Kantilal and Jayant, died on Wednesday morning at his residence at Atarsumba, Baroda State, mourned by relatives and friends.

To-day's Engagements

GANDHI JAYANTI, KHAR: Spinning by Women 5 p.m. Kirtan by Harijans 9 p.m. Mass Spinning 9 p.m. to 10-15 p.m.

LADY-ARTISTS' EXHIBITION FOR KASTURBA FUND: Under the auspices of "Gujarat Kala Mandal" the Lady-Artists' Union" has decided to extend for one day more.

BOMBAY WOMEN'S FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE: Meeting at the Seva Sadan, Gamdevi at 6 p.m (S.T).

UNITED LODGE OF THEOSOPHISTS-MATUNGA: Study Class on "Psychic Laws, Forces and Phenomena" 8-15 p.m. Putla House, Bhaudaji Road, Matunga.

PHOTOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF INDIA: Debate "That still photography is more interesting than cine-photography" at B.E.S.T. Conference Hall, 6-15 p.m.

MAZDAZNAN MEETING: To-day (Thursday) at 6-15 p.m. at Mazdaznan Temple Hall, opp. Churchgate Station Youths and men will speak "what I consider most conducive to happiness in home life".

FAMINE INQUIRY COMMISSION COMES TO BOMBAY

Will Spend Fortnight Examining Witnesses In City

The Famine Inquiry Commission will commence examination of witnesses in Bombay on Thursday. According to its present programme, it will spend about a fortnight in Bombay and other parts of the province and then proceed to Madras.

The members of the Commission are Sir John Woodhead (Chairman) Sir Manilal B. Nanavati, Dr.W. R. Avkroyd, Mr. S. V. Ramamurti and Khan Bahadur Dr. Afzal Hussain.

The members of the Commission will be visiting the city ration shops to-marrow morning. Among those expected to give evidence before the Commission are the Standing Committee of the Food Advisory Council and the People's Province Food Council. The Commission will conduct its inquiries in camera. Certain officials of the Civil Supplies Department, it is understood will give evidence to-morrow.

Dussera

BOMBAY, Wednesday

Hindus are celebrating Dassera to-day with great enthusiasm. Banks and public offices, share bazar and commercial houses are closed for the day. Dassera, also known as Vijaya Dashami, is celebrated all over India.

In the morning a public gathering was held under the auspices of the Art Society of India at the Blavatsky Lodge when Mr. Nagindas T. Master presided.

Arjun Harji Dead

The "Bombay Chronicle" regrets the sad death of Mr. Arjun Harji, father of Mr. R. A. Balkpolesh, the well-known Gujarati journalist and propaganda officer of Calcutta Film Exchange at his residence at Matunga, on last Monday morning.

TO-DAY ON RADIO

THURSDAY, Sept. 28.

BOMBAY—1.
244 m. (1,231 kc/s)

8-0 a.m. Mahboob Ali 8-5 News (H) 8-15 News (E) 8-30 Marathi Songs 8-45 Alap Bhairaon (Sitar) 8-50 News (M) 9-0 News (G) 9-10 Tomorrow 9-15 Roshanara Begam 12-30 p.m. Hindi Songs 12-45 News (M) 12-50 News (G) 12-55 News (H) 1-0 Music from Film 1-30 News (E) 1-40 Music 4-20 School Broadcast 5-0 Gulshan Sufi 5-20 Violin 5-30 M K Kale 5-55 Local Announcements 6-0 For Children 6-30 News (E) 6-40 News (H) 6-45 News Commentary (M) 6-50 Music from Film 7-0 Book Review (G) 7-15 Sundrabai Jadhav 7-30 Gottuvadyam Recital 7-40 Roshanara Begam 8-15 In News 8-20 Music 8-25 News (M) 8-35 News (G) 8-45 Radio Reconnaissance (G) 9-0 News (H) 9-20 News (E) 9-30 B B C News 9-45 Economic Aspects of Jap. Rule (E) 10-0 Babs Fraser, (Soprano) 10-10 Albert Sandler & Orchestra 10-30 Lyra Quartet 10-50 Hilda Flanders.

BOMBAY—2
61.48 m. (4,880 kc/s)

8-0 to 8-5 a.m. As in Bombay 1 8-5 Ramkrishnanwa Vaze 8-50 Gulshan Sufi

89.15 m. (3,365 kc/s)

7-30 p.m. Commercial News 7-42 Music 7-45 Calling Rural Listeners 8-25 M K Kale 8-45 to 9-0 As in Bombay 1 9-0 Sundrabai Jadhav 9-35 Gat Tora on Tabla 10-30 Roshanara Begam.

CITY MARKETS CLOSED

Bombay Sept. 27.

All the city markets, including cotton, bullion and shares remained closed to-day owing to Dassara Holiday.

NEW YORK COTTON.
New York, Sept. 26.

October	21.93
December	21.86
January	21.79
Middling Spot	22.33

NEW ORLEANS COTTON.
New York, Sept. 26.

October	21.94
December	21.88
January	21.80
Middling Spot	21.46

NEW YORK COTTON.
NOON CALL.
New York, Sept. 26.

October	21.93
December	21.95
March	21.88

LONDON SILVER
LONDON, Sept. 26.
Spot 23-1/2 Forward 23-1/2 Gold bars fine per oz. £8/8/0

LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE

	£
Rupee Paper 3-1/2 p c	72-3/8
Consols 2-1/2 p c	79-1/8
Conversion Loan 3-1/2 p c 1961	104
War Loan 3-1/2 p c	104-5/16
Funding Loan 4 p c 1960/90	112-5/8
Victory Bonds 4 p c	112-3/8
Chartered Bank of I. A. & China	11-9/16
Hongkong and Shanghai Bank (London Reg.)	93
National Bank of India	41-3/4

PHILLIPS AFFAIR IN COMMONS

LONDON, Sept. 26

Suggestions that the British Government or Government of India had informed the United States Government that Mr. William Phillips (who was the President's personal representative in India) was 'persona non grata' have already been denied by Mr Cordell Hull and the British Ambassador in Washington, declared Mr. George Hall, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a written reply to Sir John Wardlaw Milne (Conservative) in the Commons to-day.

Sir John had asked if the Government was satisfied that "possession by unauthorised persons of the report to the President of the United States by his personal representative in India, containing slighting references to the Indian army was not due to any leakage of information from British sources or any failure of secrecy in British codes."

Mr. Hall added, "His Majesty's Government are not in a position to confirm the authenticity of the Phillips' report, which was addressed to the President of the United States. It naturally never passed through British hands, and there is, therefore, no question of its leakage from British sources, and I am satisfied that there has been no compromising of any British code or cipher in this connection.

"As to the criticism of the Indian army in the report I should like to take this opportunity on behalf of his Majesty's Government of paying that army the warmest possible tribute. Every Indian in it is a volunteer, and its fighting record over five years in every theatre of war has not been surpassed by any army in field."—Reuter.

REFORMS IN PORBANDAR

PORBANDAR, Sept. 27: H. H. the Maharana Rana Saheb of Porbandar declared to-day in an open session, the introduction of the new constitution for the Porbandar State.

Continuing His Highness said that a doubt had been raised in regard to the system of representation chosen under the constitution. "Fears have been expressed that it will not conduce to the desired cohesion amongst the various units and elements constituting the Raj Sabha. But the various sections of society in Porbandar have not been artificially created, said His Highness. "They have been here for centuries as a result of a natural evolution of their own."

"It was therefore after much consideration", he added, "that form of representation chosen for the constitution."

His Highness also assured that the system of representation keeps channels open for women to contribute their share in days to come.

After exhorting the people not to construe the pronouncement as an opportunity given to them for wielding power but to make service their own united object and watchword. His Highness declared the Hazur Raj Sabha open.—United Press.

Riot Tax On Govt. Buildings?

(From Our Correspondent)
AHMEDABAD, Sept. 27

Serious differences have arisen regarding Riot-Tax on Government and Railway buildings. Several officers have protested. But, it is said that if Bombay Government will pay the expense these buildings will be freed from the Tax. About Rs. 17,76,000 has been already levied. Rs. 1,18,000 remains to be levied.

Press Reporter Released On Bail

LAHORE, Sept. 26: Kundanlal a press reporter who was arrested on September 24 under the D.I.R. on a charge of circulating a news item alleged to be objectionable, was released today on a bail of Rs. 2,000—A. P.

NATIONAL WAR FRONT

ELOCUTION COMPETITION FINALS on SATURDAY, 30th September, 1944, at 5 p.m. in the CONVOCATION HALL of the University of Bombay.

Mr. H. J. H. TALYARKHAN will also speak on "PREPARING INDIA FOR PEACE".

All are cordially invited to attend. 408

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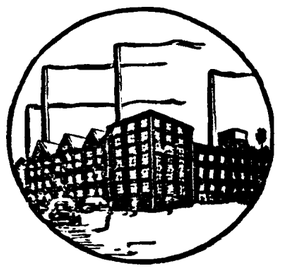
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THE RATION CARD ALSO HAS TWO SIDES
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2 It imposes on you the DUTY not to allow its illegal use during your absence and to return it when you leave Bombay.
★ ★ ★ ★
The duty is a legal obligation. Several persons have been convicted for failure to report departures and for drawing rations on absentees' cards.
RAS

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If Anaemia has robbed the bloom try
VINKOLA
It rejuvenates the worn out tissues, gives extra energy and cheers up the mind.
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The necessities of War must for the time being limit the full scale production of all those aids to Beauty which thrilled the World of Women. The COTY Beauty Service must be but a shadow of itself till Victory permits us to realise our plans for the creation of greater loveliness and charm. In the meantime we are still able to maintain a minimum Service which provides every essential for the preservation of Beauty. Though in War-time packs every one of the COTY preparations conforms to Pre-war Standards of COTY Quality.
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GOVERNMENT APPROVED CLOTH SHOPS

The Government of Bombay has authorised over 300 shops in Bombay City and the Bombay Suburban District to sell cloth at concession rates fixed by the Government.

Each shop is provided with a sign board bearing the inscription, "Government Approved Shop No . . ."

A list of the approved shops has been kept for reference by the public in all the main and sub-Ward Rationing Offices in the City and the suburbs.

MAKE SURE YOU DO NOT PAY MORE THAN THE FIXED PRICES.

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Provincial Textile Controller.

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ALL-INDIA WEATHER

POONA, Sept 27

The following is the weather chart showing the maximum and minimum temperatures and rainfall in inches recorded at 9 hours L.M.T. on 24-9-44 :—

Allahabad 88 76 0, BOMBAY 88 78 0, Calcutta 89 79 0, Cawnpore 84 72 0, Cuttack 89 79 T, Darjeeling 61 54 3.8, Delhi 97 72 0, Dehra Dun 84 69 0, Jacobabad 100 76 0, Karachi 88 80 0, Lahore 99 70 0, Lucknow 88 71 1.7, Madras 95 80 0, Nagpur 88 75 0, Patna 90 78 0.2, Peshawar 90 68 0, Shillong 74 62 T, Simla 69 56 0.—A. P.

A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

Ye have been called unto liberty, only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love, serve one another.

—Galatians V. 13.

The Bombay Chronicle

NOT THE END

The news that the negotiations between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah have broken down will cause an unprecedented shock of pain and disappointment to every Indian who truly loves his country, yearns for heart unity between Hindus and Muslims and desires national freedom. The unusual prolongation of the talks between the two leaders and the public declaration made by them in the early stages that they would betray bankruptcy of statesmanship if they allowed these talks to fail had raised the hopes of the vast majority of Hindus, Muslims and other Indians sky-high and never in recent times did the country long for a happy inter-communal settlement so much as during the last historic fortnight. The pain and disappointment that will be caused by the failure of the talks will be proportionate to the great and pleasant hopes raised that have now been dashed to pieces. We do not know if the correspondence between the two leaders, which has now been published, gives an adequate idea of the talks between them. The country, however is concerned more with the outcome of the conversations and the causes of their failure. The brief statement made by Mr. Jinnah, while releasing the correspondence to the Press, sums up the attitude which he adopted in his letters to Gandhiji and which, as we surmise, he must have also adopted during his talks with the latter. It is the attitude not, as one would have expected of the Great Leader of a great community, of a statesman, conscious of the tremendous responsibility of his task and inspired by a genuine spirit of honourable compromise, but that of an advocate, mechanically pleading from his brief. Could, for example, a leader, endowed with the authentic spark of statesmanship, betray such lack or realism, let alone knowledge of the country's history during the last twenty-five years, as to question, in a petty legalistic spirit, the representative capacity of Mahatma Gandhi? The world knows that Gandhiji has, for many years past, not been even a four anna member of the Congress and the world also knows that he has been the undisputed leader of the Congress and that if there is any single leader who can deliver the goods, so far as the Congress is concerned, it is Mahatma Gandhi. And when such a leader gives the assurance that he would try to secure Congress acceptance of any settlement to which he is a party who can ask for a better guarantee?

Mr. Jinnah in his statement says that he has failed in his task of "persuading and converting him (Gandhiji) to the fundamentals of the Lahore resolution." Now the League's demand in its Lahore resolution is that "geographically *contiguous units* are demarcated into *regions* which should be so constituted with such *territorial readjustments* as may be necessary that the *areas* in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be group to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign" (our italics). Now if words have any meaning this demand means that those parts in north-western and eastern zones of India in which Muslims are numerically in a majority should be separated from the rest of the country where they are in a minority; it also means division of provinces if necessary for the purpose. The resolution does not refer to provinces as they exist at present but to "regions" and "areas". Rajaji's formula concedes this demand inasmuch as it contemplates the demarcation of "continuous districts in the North-West and east of India wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority." Gandhiji's second proposal to Mr. Jinnah also concedes this demand inasmuch as it requires that the Congress and the League should jointly appoint a Boundary Commission to demarcate, among other areas, those portions of Bengal and the Punjab where the Muslims are in a majority with a view to their separation after a plebiscite. Mr. Jinnah has rejected both these proposals because he demands the separation of the whole provinces of Bengal and the Punjab as well as Sind, N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan as they are at present constituted and he wants this separation without consulting the non-Muslim inhabitants of these provinces. His demand for the separation of the entire provinces of Bengal and the Punjab is based on an interpretation of the Lahore resolution that cannot stand the scrutiny of logic and justice because there are contiguous areas in both these provinces where the Muslims are in a minority. And, assuming for a moment that these provinces are to be separated, his refusal to agree to a joint plebiscite of all inhabitants of these provinces is repugnant to any conception of democracy and *fairplay and is, therefore,* certainly un-Islamic. These are the two main points which are responsible for the failure of the conversations.

As Gandhiji said at the prayer-meeting on Wednesday he had tried his level best to go as far as he could to meet Mr. Jinnah's view-point. Without accepting the latter's two nation theory he accepted the concrete consequences that should follow from such acceptance. He earnestly pleaded with Mr. Jinnah to consult his *Council and the* League before finally rejecting his proposals. But Mr. Jinnan was adamant in his legalistic stand. His attitude can hardly be described as democratic, statesmanlike or Islamic. We earnestly ask those Muslims, who follow the lead of the League and the Quad-ai-Azam, whether in rejecting Gandhiji's proposals which meet the substance of the Lahore demand or his request to consult the League Council before ending the negotiations, a great disservice has not been done to them by their leader. Mr. Jinnah says that Gandhiji's proposals give the Muslims only the husk. Is this a true or fair description of these proposals? To find a true answer to this question let the Muslims examine the real motive of the demand contained in the Lahore resolution. The motive was the fear of remaining a perpetual minority in the federal centre and the consequent desire that Muslims should themselves be also a perpetual majority in an independent centre of their own. Are not this motive and this desire fully met when Gandhiji offers them —subject to a common plebiscite—a perpetual majority in independent Baluchistan, Sind, N.-W. F. Province and parts of Bengal and the Punjab where they are numerically in a majority? Is it fair, equitable and democratic that these areas should formally be separated from the rest of India without even consulting their inhabitants? Can Islam, which is the essence of democracy, ever sanction such mockery of 'self-determination as a nation' or of "exercising of our inherent right as a Muslim nation' or 'division and carving out of two independent sovereign states by way of settlement between two major nations?' No. Gandhiji's proposals, if they and the Lahore resolution are dispassionately examined in the dry light of reason, will be found to meet the substance of the Muslim demand to have a part of India where, in a democracy, they would constitute the ruling majority. We earnestly appeal to the Muslims to subject them to such an examination. There is a sentence in Mr. Jinnah's statement which promises a revival of hope. Mr. Jinnah says: "Nevertheless, we hope that the public will not feel embittered and we trust this is not the final end of our effort?" Gandhiji in his speech on Wednesday drew special attention to this sentence. The country should try to overcome its natural sense of disappointment and despondency and, as Gandhiji says, should regard the breakdown as an incentive for greater effort for establishing true unity among various communities. We have no doubt the Muslims will soon realize the true inwardness of the offer made by Gandhiji and appreciate his sincere desire to bring about an honourable settlement, and when they do so an honourable and abiding settlement will follow as surely as night follows day.

Amery's Logic

The Anglo-American controversy over statements claimed to have been made by Mr. William Phillips and General Stilwell has brought into the arena a new protagonist, the redoubtable Mr. L. S. Amery himself. It may be that both Mr. Phillips and General Stilwell said more than they should have or used exaggerated language to make their points with the President of the United States. But Mr. Amery errs no less, if not worse, in inflicting patently questionable and irrelevant arguments. The fact that "there are 2 million volunteers in the Indian Army" (which is one half per cent of the population) has been used by the Secretary of State to prove that they did not believe the country to be oppressive or unjust or their cause unworthy. What he evidently means to imply is that the governance of the country is regarded as just and satisfactory by the people of India and so is the "cause" accepted by them as worthy. His first claim constitutes such a deliberate confusion of logic that we are surprised even Mr. Amery should venture to insult the intelligence of the world in that fashion.

That by far the vast majority of the people of this country is discontented with the present administration, that it heartily dislikes it and that it is decidedly antagonistic is not only proved by British admissions and behaviour beginning with the hurried dash of Sir Stafford Cripps to India but also by an argument which honest British statesmen must acknowledge as decisive, the attitude of the electorates and its representatives. Can Mr. Amery or any Briton deny, without giving up all pretence to honesty and truth, that the people's representatives, of every community whether in the Provincial or Central Legislatures, reject his claim? Can he or those who pretend to think with him deny that if general electfons are held, Mr. Amery's assertion will be proved with overwhelming majorities as absurdly and grossly incorrect? As to the acceptance of what Mr. Amery calls the "cause", one need say no more to show how egregious the Secretary of State is than to quote his next sentence: "Some elements in India have found it impossible to reconcile their *general belief in the goodness* of the common cause." The gentleman refers to the Congress and the Muslim League who have both found it "impossible", and between them they represent over 80 per cent of the population of this country. Can he deny that?

FRANKLY SPEAKING

War Against Japan

A United States Office of War Information report, "based on facts, figures, estimates and opinions of authorities of the Navy, War and State departments and the Foreign Economic Administration", suggests that it may take years (at the very least one and a half to two years after the defeat of Germany) to defeat Japan. This conclusion is based on a comparative study of the present strength of America and Japan, of their potentialities and respective advantages in matters like morale, strategical position, communications and supplies. It is a sober study carefully making every allowance for whatever possible advantages the Japanese may dispose. But it ignores a number of things. One such, perhaps of minor importance, is the fact that Japanese defences, ground and air, against air attacks have proved to be distinctly weaker and poorer than Germany's Japan is much more vulnerable than her ally. But of major importance is the fact that, besides the Chinese Army, the U.S. report forgets the contribution which Britain is going to make to the war against Japan. That contribution, while not comparable to the American, will, along with Chinese, equal in magnitude virtually the entire military, naval and air strength of Japan. That being the case, one may look forward to the defeat of Japan earlier than the U.S. Office of War Information hopes for.

Still Unsolved

At a public function, held at Madras on Sunday, Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member of the Viceroy's Council, spoke on the present food position with more than justifiable complacence. Few will take exception to his view that unless India is treated as one economic unit and food in surplus areas is controlled and transported to deficit areas it is impossible to solve the food problem. Indeed, but for this policy, though tardily enforced, the Bengal disaster would have been far more ghastly than it was. But the Food Member was hardly convincing when he proceeded to suggest that, as the Central Government is following that policy, the food problem is being satisfactorily solved. When people continue to die of starvation in the Calcutta hospitals and many more are so dying in the villages, when thousands have perished in Bihar from epidemics aggravated by destitution and when millions are underfed all over the country the Food Member's self-praise is utterly unwarranted and nauseating. One can offer praise, however qualified, to the British Government for taking care to see that not one died of starvation in Britain during the war, **in spite of her being a deficit country in this respect and in spite** of shipping difficulties. But one cannot bless either that Government or its subordinate branch in India for letting lakhs of people die of starvation. And in several parts of the country the spectre of famine and epidemics is not yet out of sight.

Villages Neglected

The Food Member stated but too truly that "in last year's famine in Bengal more people died bscause of high prices than because of shortage." Now there is shortage in many parts of the country and high prices almost everywhere. The Food Member knows that even the minimum quantities of food recommended by the Gregory Committee to be imported from abroad have not yet been imported. But he hopes "to get in future all the imports that are needed." Those who are hungry now cannot be fed on hopes for the future. Sir Jwala Prasad hopes, too, that it would be possible to evolve a policy by which better and adequate food could be secured to the people of India." We share the hope but wish the evolution could be speeded up with a little more earnestness on the part of the authorities. It does not call for any elaborate planning to realise that more imports of food are needed urgently and that only these can beat down the present high prices. The Food Member boasts that 236 towns with a population of 35 millions are now rationed. Few will be elated at these figures. For in too many cases the rations are not adequate and too many people are unable to purchase the permitted rations because of high prices. Moreover, in this case, as in many others, the gain of the towns is the loss of lakhs of villages with crores of population. A visit to almost any village in the deficit areas will confirm this view. It is necessary for all the authorities concerned to take timely precautions to avert famine, epidemics and starvation.

"Morning News" Eed Number

Attractively got up and illustrated, the Eed number of the "Morning News", Calcutta, makes topical reading. It fittingly leads off with "Prayer in Islam" by Allama Muhammad Ali. Sir Tariq Ameer Ali's message is brief but inspiring. Sir B. P. Singh Roy's article on Calcutta society in the nineteenth century" is interesting both from the historical and sociological points of view. There are a number of contributions of topical interest, poems and short stories. The section devoted to Muslim states in India will be appreciated by State subjects. The special number contains 80 pages and is priced at rupee one only.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS

Sooner or later the finger of scorn comes to the point.

★

There are still many preachers who practise what they preach.

★

A lazy man will not work himself as long as he can work others.

★

Tears will often win a jury if backed up with sufficient good looks.

★

Never enter into a partnership with a man whose wife is the president of a woman's political club.

★

Some pretty women are unconscious of their beauty, but the majority are not even momentarily forgetful.

"Hindi, National Language Of India"

Let Hindus And Muslims Have Separate Inter-Provincial Languages, Says K. M. Munshi

Mr. K. M. Munshi in the course of his presidential address at the Rashtrabhasha Parishad held at Jaipur said:—

Hindi is the natural, legitimate inter-provincial medium of India. It has not acquired this position because of political propaganda or religious zeal. Historical, social and cultural forces operating for a long time alone elevate it out of several languages to that position.

Upto the fourteenth century, in the country north of the Krishna some or the other form of the successor of Sauraseni Apabhramsa was the medium of intercourse, and Sanskrit, the language of the universities, courts, of high culture and religion. Outside Madhyadesa, in the Punjab and Kashmir, in Bihar, Bengal and Assam and on the southern bank of the Krishna the spoken languages were either closely allied to the speech of Madhyadesa or came to be enriched by developing common Sanskrit elements.

When Alla-ud-din Khilji set up an Imperial centre at Delhi in the fourteenth century, Persian became the official language of the Muslim Imperial and Provincial Courts. Two new factors came into existence. First, the Sanskrit universities liberally patronised by the Hindu kings of those regions were destroyed and men of learning fled to the villages to enrich the dialects with the aid of Sanskrit. Secondly, in regions around Muslim capitals the speech came to be infused with Persian words partly as a result of royal patronage and partly to provide a medium between the Persian speaking courtiers on the one hand and the public on the other. Hindus associated with Courts had to learn the language to win royal or official favour and thenceforth became conduit pipes for introducing Persian words in the Indian languages. As a result, by the seventeenth century many Persian words became naturalised in the Hindi language. On the one hand, Tulsi and Surdas freely used these naturalised Persian words. On the other Hindi authors like Malik Mahmud Jaysi, Khan Khana and Yari Saheb employed Hindi as instrument of literary expression. But the Hindi thus enriched was no other than the language which had directly evolved from the Sauraseni Apabhramsa. Only in the army of the Moghul Emperors this Hindi acquired a larger element of Persian words. Thus the foundation of Persianised Hindi or Urdu was laid.

When the British Empire came to be founded the British tried to maintain the Persian traditions of the Moghul administration in some parts of North India. The Muslim aristocracy and the Hindu families which had flourished under Muslim rule also maintained the Persianised Hindi as their home language. But the need for contact with Persian speaking courts disappeared; English became the language of official favour and of courts; and the process of infusing Persian words in the speech of the people was arrested. Universities introduced the study of Sanskrit side by side with English. Hindi thereupon began to be restored to its purity and its close association with Sanskrit.

NOT A FORCED PROCESS

The so-called Sanskritisation of Hindi and other languages is therefore, not a forced process; it is the restoration of the natural purity of the languages after the forced infusion of foreign words had disappeared. The affinity of Hindi to Sanskrit is natural and legitimate. Sanskrit is the finished form of the ancestor of the most influential of modern Indian languages and each successive form of the language has been replenished by Sanskrit generation after generation. The works of modern Hindi authors, as much as authors in other Indian languages of the Sanskritic family, owe their variety and fertility as much to the linguistic and literary movement connected with the Sanskritic revival as to the stimulating contact with the Western literature.

Modern communal problems in India have created a myth that Hindi is being over-Sanskritised. But it is the natural Rashtrabhasha because its sounds, grammatical features and main vocabulary come from Sanskrit and are shared by languages of U.P., Bihar, Nepal, Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Andhra, Tamilnad, Karnatak, Kerala, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Its Sanskritic elements are the essential cultural link which bind people of these provinces together: this link makes it the medium of provincial intercourse of the country.

Several languages are claimed to be the natural national languages of India. The first of this claimant is the Persianised Hindi, known as Urdu, which is being liberally Arabicised of late. When this claim is put forward it is forgotten that a Rashtrabhasha is required not only as a medium between the Hindus and Muslims: it is primarily required mainly for intercourse between Hindus speaking provincial languages of the Sanskritic family or languages mixed with Sanskrit. Muslims in each province can in their own province, carry on intercourse with the Hindus in their own provincial languages: till a few years ago they used to study together in the same primary schools. And, the rich Urdu of today is in parts unintelligible as a foreign tongue to most peonle outside U. P. and the Punjab.

A Nizam may force Urdu on the State service in a State where 90% of the population speak languages of the Sanskritic and Dravido-Sanskritic family. A Kashmir State Department may force its Hindu residents to learn Urdulsed Hindi. A Government like the one in the Punjab may by favours force Urdu as a school medium for Hindu boys. But no national language can be forced on a people by artificial pressure. Indian languages have retained their Sanskritic genius despite 700 years of Muslim rule in some parts of India. And so will they retain, inspite of these factors. The laws of language and culture as operating upon the human minds are too powerful to let schemes of men succeed.

For intercourse between Hindus and Muslims a more Persianised Hindi dialect may continue. An all-India medium it can never be.

HINDUSTANI, A CROSS-BREED

Another attempt is being made to evolve a cross-breed between Urdu and Hindi, it is stated, without any bias for Sanskrit or Perso-Arabic words. Hindustani, in its ordinary meaning is the language of common speech used by the illiterate man in the North. In the hands of those who claim it as a National language it is not a language, it is a tendency, a variation of style. Instead of using the most commonly understood word in the language there is a clear attempt at Persianising the vocabulary of Hindi.

Let me be frank. Born of a speech which has an inalienable affinity of Sanskrit, nourished and fed by Sanskrit generation after generation, dependent upon Sanskrit for the elements essential for its growth, richness, plasticity and beauty, Hindi can only continue to be the national language of India, the medium of her soul, the shrine of her beauty, the expression of her cultural heritage if it draws from Sanskrit the inspiration of its future strength. This is the truth; the eternal truth founded on reality which goes to make up our cultural existence.

To all those who want to work for a Rashtrabhasha I would like to give a warning. Languages are not made to order. Sanskrit words in Hindi are not bricks which can be replaced by clever engineers at the behest of politics or religion. They are common to the Indian languages as living symbols. They are woven indissolubly with the psychology of the Indian race. They represent cultural concepts which like the nerve centres maintain, stimulate and strengthen the life of the whole speaking community of India. New words, words of alien speech artificially forced upon a language have no associations. They have no intimate significance. I have no quarrel with the naturalised words of Perso-Arabic origin. Forcing Arabic or Persian synonyms on an inter-provincial medium is unaesthetic, a patch-up compromised devoid of any meaning for non-Urdu speaking India, and hateful to those who speak Urdu.

Let us not forget for a moment that the Hindi-Urdu question which has been in the forefront of the country is not a question of language. It is the communal question projected into the linguistic sphere. An artificial compromise between Hindi and Urdu can never become a genuine medium. There can be no patchwork compromise between Urdu and Hindi unless there is a desire on both sides, not on one, to come to, not merely a political settlement but a cultural synthesis. If the gulf between the two cultures cannot be bridged, linguistic synthesis by surrender of Sanskritic elements between Urdu and Hindi is unreal and must fail.

But we who have a common heritage of Sanskrit, those of us who have a common Hindi given to us by history, cannot wait till the Hindu-Muslim problem is satisfactorily solved. Let the Hindus have their medium of inter-provincial intercourse which is easy to adopt. Let the Muslims of the whole country learn Urdu which they do not know so far; it is a myth that all Muslims in India know Urdu. Then when both communities have come to accept the principle of live and let live and when each has come to sink its separatist tendency in a common outlook of nationalism, there will be time enough to bring about a synthesis of Hindi and Urdu. This would then be easy enough, for, between Urdu and Hindi, there is only the question of words. Common life and common cultural bonds will soon eliminate the obstruction of vocabulary and, may be, a national language common to the Hindus and Muslims will be evolved. But as things are, the progress must be in two stages: one, language of inter-provincial intercourse for Hindus and another for Muslims in the first stage and a synthesis of both in the second stage. Maybe the two stages could be merged in one; not now but at a later stage.

One word to my Hindi speaking friends. Persons to whom Hindi is the mother-tongue find in its acceptance as a Rashtrabhasha the gratification of their pride. I have found in some of them a sort of "Hindi imperialism." They insist on acceptance of the Hindi of U. P. But if Hindi has to be a true Rashtrabhasha, every language should be left free to contribute its characteristic elements to the Rashtrabhasha. In this manner Hindi will be enriched beyond imagination. Just as the English of Oxford is different from the English of America, Australia or India so will the Rashtrabhasha variety of Hindi differ in different parts of the country. Bengali will contribute its richnes, Rajasthani its folk elements, Gujarati and Marathi, their expressiveness; possibly the Dravidian languages their grace; and the Sanskritic genius of them all will weld these different elements so as to make of Hindi a true Rashtrabhasha, the mother tongue of the Nation through which India will express her soul to the world.

CONGRESS—STUDENT CO-ORDINATION

Agreeemnt On Basic Principles

"The basic principles on which the co-ornination of activities between Congress and students can be built were the subject a friendly discussion at an informal Conference of the representatives both of Congress and the organised student community of the City of Bombay held on Monday evening", writes Shri S. K. Patil, the General Secretary of the B.B.C.C. Shri N.T. Master presided over the Conference, which was a part of the Gandhi Jayanti programme.

There was a keenness of feeling on both sides noticeable throughout the proceedings that immediate steps must be taken to bring about a closer unity between the Congress and students' organisation. Representatives of students expressed their unanimous desire to be organised for such a unity under the national leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. They declared their loyalty to the Congress and their firm faith in Gandhiji's leadership.

The basic principles suggested in the following Congress note were accepted as a starting point for the sincere and unremitting efforts which are to be made in the near future to establish this unity.

CONGRESS AND STUDENTS

Organised students are a mighty force in our struggle for freedom. It is from among them that India's future leadership is to spring. Hitherto the Congress has paid very little attenion, if any, to the students and their organisation. This indifference on our part and the failure to estimate the dynamics of the youth movement have done no small harm to our national struggle. We cannot continue the old policy any more without disastrous consequences. We must try and link up the student movement with the Congress organisation so that both Congress and students can strengthen each other. Congress must take the initiative and suggest basic principles of students' organisation. The whole student-movement must be so inspired, influenced and guided that when students completed their educational courses, they must become active workers in the Congress organisation.

NO EXPLOITATION

The Congress does not believe in exploiting the youth movement. That movement must have its healthy formation and growth in the sole interests of the young people who will take part in it. But even while the students are receiving their education, they can train themselves for the service of their nation to which they should pledge themselves as soon as they are in a position to act as citizens.

The Congress has to watch and see that the youth movement is not exploited by any parties or groups in their own communal or sectional interests.

The main lines of students' organisation have been clearly indicated by Mahatma Gandhi in his booklet on the 14-point constructive programme. These lines should form the basis of Congress-student collaboration in their respective organisations. Within the framework of Gandhiji's instructions, both Congress and students can establish and develop many points of contact which will eventually strengthen them both.

The students can serve the national cause best if they do not associate themselves in any shape or form with any parties or groups within or outside the Congress. Their loyalty must be to the Indian National Congress and they must have abiding faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who is the chosen leader of the Congress.

If they build their organisation and conduct their activities on these pure national lines, they will be the greatest asset to the Congress. If they meddle with party or group politics, they will weaken themselves and eventually weaken the Congress too.

"DO'S AND DONT'S"

Following are some of the activities which the students can undertake in an organised manner, besides those which pertain to their educational needs and difficulties:—

While their organisation may not take an active part in the day-to-day politics, as many of them over 18 years of age as can, should become the primary members of the Indian National Congress. This will give them the necessary training in the Congress activities. They can advance communal unity as few others can because their young minds are free from communalism. They can assist in the efforts for the removal of untouchability. They can improve upon these efforts with the help of their scientific training They can use Khadi and popularise other village industries. They can be stalwart champions of the Basic Education. They can help tremendously in the liquidation of adult illiteracy. This work is particularly easy in the City of Bombay since it is organised by an Adult Literacy Committee. Education in health and hygiene is the crying need of Indian villages. In this field of activity student can distinguish themselves by their skill and diligence. Rashtra Bhasha is a potent weapon for forging national unity and abridging distances. Students can serve the masses by carrying to them the message of the 'Lingua Franca' of India. Working for economic equality is a subject that fascinates modern youth without any goading. Students can help in this activity and make it a success.

The list that I have suggested here is merely illustrative. Students have a genius for inventions and I have no doubt that it will have its full play in the planning of activities.

I have emphasized here what the student community can do in advancing the Congress purpose and programme. That does not mean that the obligations are one-sided. The Congress too has its obligations towards the students and will readily discharge them in mutual interests. with the aid of the Congress, the students' organisation can do wonders. This close partnership, both ideological and organisational, will be a surer foundation for common efforts and sacrifices for the national freedom in future.

TETE-A-TETE

WITHOUT COMMENT—

"Grave rumours are afloat in the press concerning possible unsuccessful termination of your talks. If true, this will prove the greatest calamity for unfortunate India. I request you in all earnestness to think twice before announcing slavery and doom for India. I am prepared to reach Bombay for settling your differences provided you both agree to my humble mediation."

—The Allama Mashriqi.

★ ★ ★

The fact that "there are 2 million volunteers in the Indian Army", proves, according to Mr. Amery, that "these people did not believe their country oppressive and unjust or their cause unworthy."

What WAS Mr. L. S. Amery talking about?

And by the way, what did he mean by "their cause"?

★ ★ ★

In fairness to the British, it must be pointed out that Mr. Louis Fischer is not exactly right in saying that "British policy in India is to divide and rule."

All that the British do and are doing, as a matter of sacred obligation imposed by Providence on them, is strongly to emphasise the existence of a dozen—if necessary more—different identities and interests which are too contradictory to be reconciled and rightly to demand that they should be fully guaranteed. The British can't really do less. Can they?

★ ★ ★

And, of course, we agree with our compatriot, Sir Frederick Puckle, that "granting of freedom (to India a la Cripps Formula) is not liquidation of the British Empire."

Eh! Why do we call Sir Frederick Puckle, our compatriot? But, of course, he is. Was he not India's something or the other till recently?)

★ ★ ★

Lord Vansittart, the famous theoretician of the Vansittartist Revolution, demands that "Germany must learn humility."

Is the knowledge and practice of that quality lacking only in Germany?

★ ★ ★

And he insisted that that was the best way to make her respect other countries.

But humility need not, like that other great virtue, charity, begin at home. Need it?

★ ★ ★

Viscount Cranbourne did not think that the German people as a whole could be freed from blame for what had happened during the last 20 or 30 years.

We should probably regard Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Poincare, Baldwin, Chamberlain as among the German people.

★ ★ ★

Mrs. Roosevelt, we learn, favours having more women doctors.

About time for it, too, we think. So far women have only caused illness, nervous breakdowns, heartaches, headaches, etc.

★ ★ ★

A Red Indian of considerable culture was engaged to play a part in a Hollywood film.

One day, while he was in the studio awaiting instructions, a film star approached him with the idea of showing a little consideration to "the poor savage."

"Well," he said kindly, "how do you like our city?"

"Very well, thank you," replied the Red Indian: "how do you like our country?"

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JINNAH REJECTS 'ARBITRATION'

Will Not Allow Mahatma To Address League Session

(Continued from page 2)

we are, let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

"A Way Out"

Jinnah's letter dated Sept. 23.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 22 and thank you for it. I am sorry that you think I have summarily rejected the idea of common interest between two arms, and now you put it somewhat differently from 15 (a), when you say there will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity. My answer, already given, is that it will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or any other party concerned, to deal with such matters on the footing of their being two independent states.

I am really surprised when you say there is no proof of what you characterize as a sweeping statement of mine, that the August 1942 resolution is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India. The resolution in its essence is as follows:

(a) Immediate grant of complete independence and setting up immediately of a Federal Central Government on the basis of a united democratic Government of India with federated units or provinces, which means establishing a Hindu raj.

(b) That this National Government so set up will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly, which will be chosen by adult franchise, which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India, which means that the Constituent Assembly chosen will be composed of an overwhelming majority of the Hindus, nearly 75 per cent.

(c) To enforce this demand of the Congress the August Resolution decides on and sanctions a resort to mass civil disobedience at your command and when ordered by you as the sole dictator of the Congress.

This demand is basically and fundamentally opposed to the ideals and demands of Muslim India or Pakistan, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution, and to enforce such a demand by means of resort to mass civil disobedience is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India, and if you succeed in realizing this demand, it would be a death blow to Muslim India. I see from the correspondence and talks between you and me that you are still holding fast to this fateful resolution.

From the very first day of our talks you made it clear to me, and you have repeatedly said in the course of our correspondence and talks, that you have approached me in your individual capacity, and you assured me that you were a seeker of light and truth-knowledge and that you seriously and earnestly wanted to understand the Lahore Resolution and were open to conviction and conversion. Therefore, in deference to your wishes I made every effort all these days and in the course of our prolonged talks and correspondence to convert you, but unfortunately it seems I have failed. And now you have made new suggestions and proposals by your letter under reply:—

(1) You say "I have therefore suggested a way out. Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be." I really do not know what this means, and I would like you to elaborate this proposal and give me some rough outlines of this new idea of yours, as to how and when the division is to take place, and in what way it is different from the division envisaged by the Lahore Resolution.

(2) You say "let us call in a third party or parties to guide or even arbitrate between us." May I point out that you have repeatedly made clear to me that you are having these talks as an individual seeker? How can any question of a third party or parties to guide or arbitrate between us arise?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Breaking Point

Gandhiji's letter dated September 23.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

Last evening's talk has left a bad taste in the mouth. Our talks and our correspondence seem to run in parallel lines and never touch one another. We reached the breaking point last evening but, thank God, we were unwilling to part. We resumed discussion and suspended it in order to allow me to keep my time for the evening Public prayer.

In order that all possible chances of making any mistake in a matter of this great importance may be removed, I would like you to give me in writing what precisely on your part you would want me to put my signature to

I adhere to my suggestion that we may call in some outside assistance to help us at this stage.

Yours sincer.
M. K. G...DHI.

Revise Your Policy

Mr. Jinnah's letter of September 23.

Dear Mr. Gandhi.

I am in receipt of your letter of September 23rd. May I refer you to my letter of to-day's date which I sent to you in reply to yours of September 22nd? I have nothing new or fresh to add, but I may say that it is not a case of your being asked to put your signature as representing anybody till you clothe yourself with representative capacity and are vested with authority. We stand by, as I have already said, the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. I appeal to you once more to revise your policy and programme, as the future of this sub-continent and the welfare of the peoples of India demand that you should face realities.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

Gandhiji's Terms To Jinnah

Gandhiji's letter dated Sept. 24.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

I have your two letters of 23rd Sept. in reply to my letters of 22nd and 23rd.

With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied. You must therefore have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement. That resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement.

I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e. Baluchistan, Sindh, North-West Frontier Province and that part of Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore of 1940 on my basis and on the following terms:—

The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of Foreign Affairs, Defence, internal communications, Customs, Commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two states.

Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

The League will however be free to remain out of any Direct Action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.

If you do not agree to these terms, could you let me know in precise terms what you would have me to accept in terms of the Lahore Resolution and bind myself to recommend to the Congress? If you could kindly do this, I shall liable to see apart from the difference in approach, what definite terms I can agree to. In your letter of 23rd Sept., you refer to "the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore resolution" and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when as I feel I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance.

Yours Sincerely
M. K. GANDHI.

"A. I. C. C. Resolutions Bar Settlement"

Jinnah's letter dated, Sept. 25.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of Sept. 24, and I thank you for it. You have already rejected the basis and fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution.

(1) You do not accept that the Mussalmans of India are a nation.

(2) You do not accept that the Mussalmans have an inherent right of self-determination.

(3) You do not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of their self-determination.

(4) You do not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-west and north-east, comprising six Provinces, namely Sindh, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution. The matter of demarcating and defining the territories can be taken up after the fundamentals abovementioned are accepted, and for that purpose machinery may be set up by agreement.

You do not accept the provisions embodied in the Lahore Resolution for safeguarding the minorities, and yet in your letter under reply you say: "With your assistance, I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied", and proceed to say "you must therefore have no apprehensions that the August Resolution will stand in the way of our reaching an agreement."

I have already clearly explained to you that the August Resolution, so long as it stands, is a bar, for it is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore Resolution. You then proceed to say "that resolution dealt with the question of India as against Britain and it cannot stand in the way of our settlement." I am not at present concerned with Britain, but the August Resolution, as I have already stated, is against the ideals and demands of the Muslim League. Further, there is the resolution of Jagat Narayan Lal, passed by the All-India Congress Committee in May 1942 at Allahabad, which, in express terms, lays down as follows:—

"The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the India Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore cannot agree to any such proposal."

These two resolutions, so long as they stand, are a complete bar to any settlement on the basis of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan.

It is open to the Congress to revise and modify them, but you are only speaking in your individual capacity, and even in that capacity you are holding fast to the August Resolution, and you have given no indication of your attitude retarding Jagat Narayan Lal's resolution. I have repeatedly made it clear after we had discussed the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, as you maintained that, to use your own language, "Rajaji not only has not put the Lahore Resolution out of shape and mutilated it but has given it substance and form," and proceeded to say "indeed in view of your dislike of the Rajaji Formula, I have, at any rate for the moment, put it out of my mind and I am now concentrating on the Lahore Resolution in the hope of finding a ground for mutual agreement." When I asked for further clarification, which you furnished me by your letter of September 15 you started by saying "I have shunted the Rajaji Formula and with your assistance, I am applying my mind very seriously to the Famous Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League," and thence forward the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula was not discussed any further, and the question of your representative character and authority, which I had pointed out from the very commencement, therefore did not arise, as you had given me the task of converting you to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution, and ever since we discussed the Lahore Resolution only at great length and examined the *pros* and *cons*, and finally you have rejected it.

As a result of our correspondence, and discussions, I find that the question of the division of India as Pakistan and Hindustan is only on your lips and it does not come from your heart, and suddenly at the eleventh hour, you put forward a new suggestion, consisting only of two sentences by your letter of September 22, saying "I have therefore suggested a way out.

PARTITION AS BETWEEN TWO BROTHERS

Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be". I naturally asked you what this new suggestion of yours means, and wanted you to give me rough outlines of this new idea of yours as to how and when the division is to take place and in what way it is different from the division envisaged in the Lahore Resolution, and how you have been good enough to give me your amplification, in your letter of September 24 under reply, in which you say: "Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore 1940 on my basis and on the following terms." The terms clearly indicate that your basis is in vital conflict with and is opposed to the fundamental basis and principles of the Lahore Resolution.

Now let me take your main terms:—

(A). "I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones i.e. Baluchistan, Sind, North West Frontier Province and that part of Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority, desire to live in separation from the rest of India." If this term were accepted and given effect to, the present boundaries of these provinces would be maimed and mutilated beyond redemption and leave us only with the husk, and it is opposed to the Lahore Resolution.

(B). That even in these mutilated areas so defined, the right of self-determination will not be exercised by the Muslims but by the inhabitants of these areas so demarcated. This again is opposed to the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution.

(C). That if the vote is in favour of separation they shall be allowed to "form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination". Whereas we propose that we should come to a complete settlement of our own immediately, and by our united front and efforts do everything in our power to secure the freedom and independence of the peoples of India on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan.

(d) Next you say "there shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affair, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce, and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties" If these vital matters are to be administered by some central authority, you do not indicate what sort of authority or machinery will be set up to administer these matters, and how and to whom again that authority will be responsible. According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you, all these matters, which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or other party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent states. As regards the safeguarding of the rights of minorities, I have already explained that this question of safeguarding the minorities is fully stated in the Lahore Resolution.

NO COUNTER-PROPOSALS

You will therefore see that the entire basis of your new proposal is fundamentally opposed to the Lahore Resolution, and as I have already pointed out to you, both in the correspondence and in our discussions, it is very difficult for me to entertain counter-proposals and negotiate and reach any agreement or settlement with you as an individual, unless they come from you in your representative capacity. That was the same difficulty with regard to the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, and I made it clear to you at the very outset, but the Formula was discussed as you asserted that it had met the Lahore Resolution in substance, but while you were furnishing me with the clarification of this Formula, you shunted it and we confined ourselves to the Lahore Resolution, and hence the question of your representative capacity did not arise regarding this formula. But now you have, in your letter of Sept. 24, made a new proposal of your own on your own basis, and the same difficulties present themselves to me as before, and it is difficult to deal with it any further unless it comes from you in your representative capacity.

I cannot agree with you when you finally wind up by saying: "In your letter of Sept. 23 you refer to 'the basis and fundamental principles embodied in the Lahore Resolution' and ask me to accept them. Surely this is unnecessary when as I feel I have accepted the concrete consequence that should follow from such acceptance." This is obviously far from correct. Why not then accept the fundamentals of the Lahore Resolution and proceed to settle the details?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

"Throw It On Your Council"

Gandhiji's letter dated September 25.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

Yesterday's talks leads me to inflict this letter on you which I trust you will not mind.

Our conversations have come about as a result of your correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his formula and your consultations with the League Working Committee thereon, and my own letter to you suggesting a meeting between you and me. My proposal of yesterday is an earnest effort to meet the essential requirements of the Lahore Resolution. I would like you therefore to think 50 times before throwing an offer which had been made entirely in the spirit of service in the cause of communal harmony. Do not take. I pray, the responsibility of rejecting the offer. Throw it on your council. Give me an opportunity of addressing them. If they feel like rejecting it, I would like you to advise the Council to put it before the open session of the League. If you will accept my advice and permit me I would attend the open session and address it.

You are too technical when you dismiss my proposal for arbitration or outside guidance over points of difference. If I have approached you as an individual, and not in any representative capacity, it is because we believe that if I reach an agreement with you, it will be of material use in the process of securing a Congress-League settlement and acceptance of it by the country. Is it irrelevant or inadmissible to supplement our efforts to convince each other with outside help, guidance, advice or even arbitration?

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

"Extraordinary Suggestion"

LETTER FROM MR. JINNAH DATED SEPTEMBER 26

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am in receipt of your letter of September 25. It is entirely incorrect and has no foundation in fact for you to say "that our conversations have come about as a result of my correspondence with Rajaji in July last over his formula. It is equally baseless to say "and your consultations with the League working Committee thereon." It was entirely in response to your letter of July 17th 1944, which I received while I was at Srinagar, with a fervent request on your part to meet you, and you ended that letter by saying "do not disappoint me." In my reply, again from Srinagar, dated July 24th 1944, I intimated to you that I would be glad to receive you at my house in Bombay on my return which would probably be about the middle of August. This was long before the meeting of the Working Committee or that of the Council of the All India Muslim League, and long before I reached Lahore, and when you arrived here and told me that you were approaching me in your individual capacity I, at once made it clear to you and informed you, both in our talks and by my letter, that the position you had taken up had no precedent for it, and further that it was not possible to negotiate and reach an agreement unless both the parties were fully represented. For it is one-sided business, as it will not be binding upon any organization in any sense whatever, but you would as an individual only recommend it if any agreement is reached, to the Congress and the country. Whereas it would be binding upon me as the President of the Muslim League, I cannot accept this position. I hope you do see the unfairness and the great disadvantage to me, and it is so simple and elementary for any one to understand.

As regards your proposal of yesterday, which you have simplified in your letter of September 24 I have already sent you my reply.

With regard to your suggestion to be allowed to address the meeting of the Council, and if they feel like rejecting your "offer", the matter should be put before the open session, let me inform you that only a member or delegate is entitled to participate in the deliberations of the meetings of the Council or in the open session respectively. Beside it is a most extraordinary and unprecedented suggestion to make. However, I thank you for your advice.

As regards your proposal for arbitration and outside guidance, I have already replied to you, and it is not merely technically but a matter of substance. I fully reciprocate your desire of securing a Congress-League settlement.

However, I regret I have failed to convince you and convert you, as I was hopeful of doing so.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH.

"Can't Induce India To Accept"

Gandhiji's letter dated Sept. 26.

Dear Qaid-i-Azam,

In view of my letter to you of yesterday, left to myself, I would have refrained from dealing with your letter before our meeting today. But I have deferred to Rajaji's advice to finish the chain of correspondence.

I confess, I am unable to understand your persistent refusal to appreciate the fact that the Formula presented to you by me in my letter of the 24th as well as the Formula presented to you by Rajaji give you virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution providing at the same time what is absolutely necessary to make the arrangement acceptable to the country. You keep on saying that I should accept certain thesis which while I have been contending that the best way for us who differ in our approach to the problem is to give body to the demand as it stands in the resolution, and work it out to our mutual satisfaction. It is on this plan that I understand Rajaji's Formula to be conceived and it is on the same plan that I have tried to work it out in the course of and as a result of our talks. I contend that either gives you the substance of the Lahore Resolution. Unfortunately, you reject both. And I cannot accept the Lahore Resolution as you want me to, especially when you seek to introduce into its interpretation theories and claims which I cannot accept and which I cannot ever hope to induce India to accept.

Your constant references to my not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. I have approached you so that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, I may use what influence I posess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. If you break, it cannot be because I have no representative capacity or because I have been unwilling to give you satisfaction in regard to the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI.

Torpedoing Pakistan Demand

From Mr. M. A. Jinnah dated Bombay, September 26, 1944.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I have received your letter of September 26, and I note that you have written it with Rajaji's advice. Of course, it is for you to follow such advice as you may choose to do so, but I am only concerned for the moment with you. I note that at the last moment you have resurrected the Gandhi-Rajaji Formula, although it was shunted all this time, and you proceed to say that this formula gives me virtually what is embodied in the Lahore Resolution. You further say that on the same plan, you have tried to formulate your latest proposals, as mentioned in your letter of September 24, and you maintain that either gives me the substance of the Lahore Resolution. In your previous letter, you asserted that your formula gives me the "essence" of the Lahore Resolution. I see every close family resemblance between the two and the substance of one or the other is practically the same, only it is put in different language, and I have already expressed my opinion, that in my judgment, they neither meet the substance nor the essence of the Lahore Resolution. On the contrary, both are calculated to completely torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. I have never asked you to accept certain thesis nor have I introduced any theories in the Lahore Resolution. Thesis and theories are matters for scholars to indulge in.

I am very sorry I have to repeat, but I am compelled to do so, that I cannot agree with you that my references to your not being clothed with representative authority are really irrelevant. On the contrary, they have an important bearing, as I have already explained to you more than once. You again repeat that if you and I can agree upon a common course of action, you may use what influence you possess for its acceptance by the Congress and the country. I have already stated from the very beginning that that is not enough, for the reasons I have already given. Your representative capacity comes into play when you are making counter proposals, and I cannot understand how you can say that it is irrelevant. No responsible organization can entertain any proposal from any individual, however great he may be, unless it is backed up with the authority of recognized organisation, and comes from its fully accredited representative. However, I need not labour this point any more, as I have already explained it in our previous correspondence.

If a break comes, it will be because you have not satisfied me in regard to the essence of the claim embodied in the Lahore Resolution. It is not a question of your being unwilling, but in fact, it is so. If a break comes, it will be most unfortunate. If one does not agree with you or differs from you, you are always right and the other party is always wrong, and the next things that, many are waiting prepared, in your circle, to pillory me when the word goes, but I must face all threats and consequences, and I can only act according to my judgment and conscience.

Yours Sincerely,
(SD.) M. A. JINNAH.

Dry Entertainment For Holiday Punters At Poona

EVANS' BIG EFFORTS ON PRINCESS CHITRA

(From Our Racing Correspondent)

The holiday racing at Poona was a dry entertainment for the enthusiasts who flocked in big numbers as usual. The poor fields which were due for action found sharp cuts at the last minute in most events and none of the winner was a firm favourite. The winners though unlike favourites, were not from the darkest quarters and big dividends failed to register.

Jockey Evans rode a masterpiece race on Maharani Chimnabai's Princess Chitra in the first division of the Thana Plate. The game filly was badly placed, when less than half a furlong was left to reach the winning post but the clever rider kept on waiting and obtained a narrow passage very close home and recorded a sensational victory. Ice Box from the same stable who was an odds-on favourite in the Lonavla Plate gave undue shocks to the majority. Sibbritt gave very poor assistance to his mount and most watchers murmured that it was only a shadow performance.

Trainer Talib recorded a double.

The following are the results:—

THE HOLKAR PLATE. Division II—Distance 1 1/4 miles.

Mr Rahiman's INTIZHAR AL SHABAB 9-0 Virsingh 1
Lt.-Col. Zorawar Singh's DAHMAN YUNUS 9-0 Shanker 2
Mr K N Multani's MIAMI 9-0 K Hasan 3
Mr Deepchand Tekchand's WAPI AL NIL 8-11 Magan Singh 4
Not run: Alexander and Time Switch.
Tote paid: Win Rs. 40. Places Rs. 12. Rs. 11 and Rs. 12.

THE THANA PLATE. Division II—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr A L J Talib's LAKSHMI 8-7 Kheem Singh 1
The Maharaja of Parlakimedi's GOLDEN FLAME 8-7 Carr 2
H H Maharaja of Baroda's LADY LINDA 8-7 Britt 3
Mrs F D Wadia's SUNFLOWER 8-7 Evans 4
Not run: Flower Girl.
Tote paid: Win Rs. 52. Places Rs. 20, Rs. 45 and Rs. 26.

THE MAHOMED MUSTAPHA TALIB PLATE. Division II—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr D P Pandole's MAHA 7-13 Raut 1
Mr D F Karaka's JANAB 8-1 Magan Singh 2
Messrs Mehta and Hope's KING HILAL 9-2 Kheem Singh 3
Maharaja of Bhavnagar's JUTLAND 8-5 Uttam Singh 4
All ran
Tote paid: Win Rs. 92. Places Rs. 26, Rs. 30 and Rs. 35.

THE THANA PLATE. Division I—Distance 6 furlongs.

H H Maharani Chimnabai's PRINCESS CHITRA 8-7 Evans 1
Mr Chandulal J Shah's SHABNAM 8-7 West 2
H H Maharaja of Baroda's BIRTHDAY ROSE 8-7 Rook 3
Sir Sultan Chinoy's POMME DE MANJRI 8-7 Carr 4
Not run: Madame Chiang
Tote paid: Win Rs. 70. Places Rs. 22, Rs. 26 and Rs. 43.

THE HOLKAR PLATE. Division I.—Distance 1 1/4 miles.

Messrs Latiff and Mehta's MAJNUN ANWAH 8-4 Kan Singh 1
Mah. Kumar of Morvi's PRINCESS HAMIYAH 9-1 Burn 2
Mr R P Ebrahim's FLOWER OF CALCUTTA 9-1 Marrs 3
Mr Chandulal J Shah's SHREE RANJIT 9-1 Kheem Singh 4
Not run: Peter.
Tote paid: Win Rs. 52. Places Rs. 14. Rs. 17 and Rs. 12.

THE LONAVLA PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Messrs Khairaz and d'Avoine's LION TAMER 8-0 Raffaele 1
Maharaja of Baroda's WILLOW HERB 8-4 Rook 2
Maharani Chimnabai's ICE BOX 8-6 Sibbritt 3
Mrs H Marginson's SCOTCH MIST 8-0 Percival 4
Not run: Black Magic, Flashing Prince, Pom Pom II and Churchill.
Tote paid: Win Rs. 65. Places Rs. 27 and Rs. 25.

THE CURRAGH PLATE.—Distance 1 mile.

Mr J D Banatwalla's ROYAL PAGE 8-9 Burn 1
Mr M J Rajpal's MOHALEBBI 9-0 Jones 2
Mr J Thompson's MASQUE 8-0 Sibbritt 3
Mr F A Irani's COUGAR 8-0 Virsingh 4
Not run: Wonderful, Kotor and Han
Tote paid: Win Rs. 51. Places Rs. 17, Rs. 16 and Rs. 19.

THE MAHOMED MUSTAPHA TALIB PLATE. Division I—Distance 6 furlongs.

Mr Hope's ASSAF MAHMUD 8-13 Kheem Singh 1
Maharaja of Baroda's CAN YOU 7-11 Southey 2
Mr A Higgins' ALA MAHLAK 8-11 Burn 3
Mr T G Essajee's KHAZANCHI 7-7 Sibbritt 4
Not run: Desert Gem, Fadilhat al Garb, Yisr al Arab and Dhayf Shammar.
Tote paid: Win Rs. 36. Places Rs. 15 and Rs. 15.

POONA TO GIVE 4 LAKHS TO KASTURBA FUND?

(From Our Correspondent)

POONA, Sept. 27

"We have Rs. three lakhs already in hand and we hope that the total collections from Maharashtra will go up to four lakhs," stated Mr. K. G. Limaye, Secretary, Maharashtra Kasturba National Memorial Fund Committee.

It is significant to note that the Poona city alone has contributed approximately Rs. 75,000, and, despite some hostile propaganda, the response from the public of Maharashtra was generous and not affected by political lovalties.

A local ceremony for the token presentation of the fund to Gandhiji is being arranged on October 2, (Gandhi Javanti Day).

ROME, Sept. 27.—It was announced today in a Balkans communique that Allied air-morne troops have landed in Albania to harass the German withdrawal from the Balkans.

Allied troops mainly British are now operating in Albania without any full-dress "invasion" ever having been staged.

HEAL UGLY SKIN BLEMISHES

Your happiness depends so much on the beauty of your skin, for even the most devoted admirer is repelled by blemishes. So pimples, blotches and angry rashes should be healed as quickly as possible. If you have never used D.D.D. Prescription its healing power will amaze you. Just apply a few drops to the unsightly spots and in a few hours you will see that they have begun to fade, and soon no trace of them remains. Heat blotches, which often develop into pimples, vanish magically on dabbing them with D.D.D. Prescription. Eczema, Ulcers, Boils, are quickly and completely cured by this wonderful liquid healer. Get a bottle from your Chemist or Bazar today.

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G. Atherton & Co. (Eastern) Ltd., 4, Mission Row, Calcutta.
McDonell & Co. Ltd., Second Line Beach, Madras.
S. J. & G. Fazul Ellahie, South Napier Road, Karachi.

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CHARLIE CHAN — Character Created by Earl Derr Biggers

CAPTAIN, SPARE THOSE BOMBS! — By ALFRED ANDRIOLA

SEE WHAT I SEE, MY LITTLE GIRL?
I WISH THEY'D RESCUE KIRK AND CHARLIE INSTEAD! -AND I'M NOT YOUR LITTLE GIRL!
AND IN THE CABIN OF THE YACHT...
DIVERT THE GULF STREAM! TAKE AN ENGINEER'S WORD FOR IT! IT CAN BE DONE! BUT IT'S A TREMENDOUS JOB!
A TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT JOB- TO BRING PEACE TO WAR-PLAGUED EUROPE! - WE MUST GO TO WASHINGTON!
THE NAVY'S COME, SIR! A PLANE'S HERE AND A DESTROYER IS COMING FROM THE NORTH!
NOW TO FIND THAT SUBMARINE AND RESCUE CHAN AND BARROW!
JUMPING JUPITER! THE DESTROYER HAS FIRED A DEPTH BOMB! THEY MUST HAVE FOUND THE SUBMARINE!
OH KIRK! CHARLIE! THEY'RE ON BOARD THE SUBMARINE!
McNaught Syndicate, Inc.
9-14

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Wanted experienced Copy-holders with good command over English language. Apply with testimonials to the Manager The Bombay Chronicle between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. (N.S.T.)

Wanted for Film Studio, well qualified and experienced Make-up Artist. Pay Rs. 125 p. m. with usual Dearness Allowance and house allowances. Applications with copies of testimonials should reach the Administrative Officer, Information Films of India, 74/94, Tardeo Road, Bombay No. 7, by 9th October, 1944. 410

Wanted an experienced Lady Guardian (and Tutor for two girls aged nine and four. Pay according to qualifications with free vegetarian board and lodging. Apply with lowest salary acceptable. Box No. 377. "Bombay Chronicle"

Wanted a Soap Expert: wanted a young ambitious soap expert for a new branch of a reputed soap works. State previous experience Minimum salary. Apply Box No. 6142 "Bombay Chronicle."

Wanted one B. Com. and L.L.B. or Accountant & L.L.B. or B. A. & Chartered & Registered accountant for secretarial or Manager of Big State knowing Hindi preferably 5 years experience in business. (2) One matriculate clerk having good handwriting of Hindi and English. 3) One B.Com. clerk knowing Typewriting and Hindi. Apply with lowest salary acceptable—Box No. 378, "Bombay Chronicle"

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Off Phirojshaw Mehta Road, entire floor. Residence/Business. Bharat House Agency, Tamarind Lane. 6155

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Wanted a Flat of more than four rooms in decent locality. Willing to pay reasonable premium in cash. Apply Box No. 6148. "Bombay Chronicle."

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For sale very fit male and female Afghan Hound Puppies ... some black, some fawn from beautiful pedegreed parents. Apply Box No. 6149, "Bombay Chronicle."

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Pottery Machinery for sale such as Edge Runner, Pug Mill, Ball Mills, Filter Pump Filter Press, Jigger & Jollys Brick and Tile Presses, Clay Blunger write particulars. Apply Box No. 6134B. "Bombay Chronicle."

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PUBLIC NOTICES.

NOTICE

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED for the following appointment:

CASHIER M.E.S. Ty: Salary Rs. 75 P.M. plus Dearness Allowance. Applicants must have a sound knowledge of Cashiers' work. The successful candidate will be required to sign Service Agreement, & will be called upon to furnish a Security Deposit of Rs. 200 only, which will be deposited as a lump sum (in one instalment only).

Applicants called for interview, will attend at their own expense.

Applications, with copies of Testimonials should be sent to the Officer Commanding, Base Engineer Park, Ghorpuri, Poona. 411

NOTICE

STENOGRAPHERS and TYPISTS either sex, wanted for a Govt. of India Department in New Delhi. Pay of Stenographer Rs. 125/- p.m., (& Rs. 175 - p.m. for those Government servants appointed from July 31) and pay of Typist Rs. 60/- p.m. plus usual allowances. Speed of stenographer 110 and 40 words per minute in shorthand and typing respectively and that of typist 40 words per minute. Apply personally with application (officially forwarded in case of those already in Government service) to Rai Bahadur D. N. Maitra, Deputy Secretary, Famine Inquiry Commission at Council Chamber, Fort, Bombay at 10 A.M. between 27th September and 2nd October. 401

ADEN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

WANTED an ASSISTANT MEDICAL OFFICER for Aden Government (Civil) to serve within the Aden Protectorate (Eastern or Western Aden Protectorate) on agreement in the 1st instance on 3 years usual agreement, Salary Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per mensem according to qualifications, plus War Allowance, free unfurnished quarters, water, 2nd class passage Bombay to Aden, inter class trainfare from home station to Bombay and back after termination of contract, leave Passage for wife available after 6 months service.

Apply immediately to COWASJEE DINSHAW & BROS., 121, Medows Street, Fort, Bombay. 407

PUBLIC NOTICES

G. I. P. RAILWAY

REVISION OF THE TIME TABLES

A NEW TIME TABLE will come into force from 1st October, 1944. For timings please see sheet time tables exhibited at all important stations on and from 1-10-1944. Copies of the new Time Table will be available from principal Booking Offices or Bookstalls. Details of changes can be obtained in advance from Station Masters. 403

AHMEDABAD ADVANCE MILLS, LIMITED.

NOTICE

THE TRANSFER BOOKS of the Company will be closed from FRIDAY the 6th October 1944 to Saturday the 28th October 1944, both days inclusive.

THE FORTY-SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING of the shareholders of the Company will be held at the registered office of the Company, "Bombay House", 24, Bruce Street, Fort, Bombay, on TUESDAY the 24th October, 1944, at 4-30 P. M. (S. T.) when the usual resolutions regarding the adoption of the Directors' Report and the audited Statements of Accounts for the year ended 30th June 1944, the declaration of dividends, the election of Directors and the appointment of auditors will be submitted.

The Dividends, if sanctioned, will be payable from Monday the 6th November 1944.

By Order of the Board of Directors,
TATA SONS, LIMITED,
Managing Agents,
S. D. SAKLATVALA,
Director.

Bombay, 26th September 1944. 406

NOTICE

OFFERS ARE INVITED by the undersigned for the sale of the undermentioned property.

Description of the Property

All that piece or parcel of land with the shed standing thereon bearing house No. 85, situate at Ghodbunder Road Mouje Dande Santa Cruz, Taluka South Salsette, Bombay Suburban District, admeasuring 6 Gunthas that is 726 Square Yards or thereabout bearing Plot No. 77A Scheme No. 4 and bounded on the East Tank Lane, on the West Ghod Bunder Road, on the south the property of Mr. Sorabji Bapuji Kharas and on the North the property of Damodardas Motilal.

For further particulars apply to the undersigned at 41, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay.

R. E. PAPA & CO.
Attorneys for Mr. Dara Nusserwanji Panday. 404

WANTED

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED for about 150 posts of Purchase Inspectors on Rs. 80-5 2-100 and 30 posts of Supervisors on Rs. 100 with the usual dearness allowance admissible under the rules in the mofussil.

The applicants must at least be Matriculates with an aptitude for outdoor work. Persons with previous experience in this office will be given preference.

The applicants should see the undersigned with their applications and testimonials from 28th September onwards at his office in the Royal Institute of Science Building, Bombay.

G. L. SHETH,
Grain Purchase Officer,
Bombay. 115

LEGAL NOTICES

NOTICE OF SALE

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that (1) BOHRA IBRAHIM ALIBHAI, residing at Jikaria Pole, KALUPUR, Ahmedabad, (2) BOHRA SAMSUDDIN TAHERALLI and (3) BAI FATMABAI, wife of the said Bohra Samsuddin Taherali have all contracted to sell the undermentioned property to our clients. All persons having any claim against or to the said property by sale, mortgage, lien, charge, lease, gift, trust, maintenance, easement or otherwise howsoever are hereby required to make the same known in writing to the undersigned, within eight days from the date hereof, as otherwise the sale will be completed without reference to such claim, and the same, if any, will be considered as waived.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY:—

ALL that piece or parcel of land or ground with the three storeyed building standing thereon, admeasuring about 106 square yards situate, lying and being at Gandhi Road, Pankore Naka, opposite Juma Masjid, Ahmedabad, in the Taluka and Peta Tukdi North Daskroi and Jilla Tukdi Ahmedabad, bearing New Survey No. 4452, Street No. 38 of Kalupur Ward No. 3 and original Survey No. 333, Tikka G. No. 7, and Municipal Census Nos. 1882, 1882/1 and 1882/2, and bounded on the North, by Bandhara's Wadi, on the South by the Public Road formerly called Richey Road and now known as Gandhi Road, on the East by the properties bearing Survey Nos. 4453 and 4455, and on the West by the property bearing Survey No. 4451.

Dated this 27th day of September, 1944.

M. S. DESAI,
For Messrs. PEREIRA FAZALBHOY & CO.,
Purchasers' Attorneys,
Allahabad Bank Building,
Pankore Naka, AHMEDABAD. 412

PUBLIC NOTICES

THE AHMEDABAD ADVANCE MILLS, LIMITED.

NOTICE

THE DIRECTORS of the Company have decided to recommend to the Annual General Meeting, the payment of the following final dividends to the Shareholders for the year ended 30th June 1944:—

Rs. 2-8-0 per Share on Preference Shares.
Rs. 10 per Share on Ordinary Shares.

For and on behalf of The Ahmedabad Advance Mills, Ltd.,

TATA SONS, LTD.
Managing Agents,
S. D. SAKLATVALA,
Director.

Bombay, 26th September, 1944. 405

NOTICE

ATTENTION OF ALL HOLDERS OF LICENCES to deal in cotton cloth is invited to the order calling for information on various heads, which has been posted to each one of them and they are requested to supply the information called for therein by the prescribed date. If any of the licence holders does not receive his copy of the letter within one week from this date, he should apply personally to the office of the Assistant Textile Controller (Licences) and obtain a copy for himself.

J. K. THAKORE,
Provincial Textile Controller.
27th September, 1944. 115

LEGAL NOTICES

Process Nos. 3811 to 3815
SUMMONS FOR SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES

(Under O. 5. Rule 20 C. P. C.)
(Rules 1 and 5, Order V, Act V of 1908.)

Civil suit No. 467-A of 1944.

In the Court of Mr. A. RAHMAN KHAN, 2nd Sub Judge Second Class, Basim.

Plaintiff: KANHYALAL BHOLARAM MARWADI of Mangrulpir.

Defendants: RADHAKISAN RAMCHANDRA Shop and others.

Claim for preemption valued at Rs. 200/-.

To,

Radhakisan Ramchandra Shop Bombay, by proprietors,

1. Ramchandra Kisanlal Marwadi age 50.
2. Gopikisan Radhakisan Marwadi age 30.
3. Gopilal Ramchandra Marwadi age 32.
4. Ghanashyamdas Radhakisan Marwadi age 27, all shopkeepers and residents of Bombay Kalbadevi Road Bombay No. 2.

WHEREAS KANHYALAL BHOLARAM MARWADI of Mangrulpir Tq-Mangrulpir has instituted a suit against you for preemption in respect of field S. No. 18 of Mouza Umari Tq-Mangrulpir, you are hereby summoned to appear in this court in person, or by pleader duly instructed and able to answer all material questions relating to the suit, or who shall be accompanied by some person able to answer all such questions on the 31ST OCTOBER, 1944 at 10 O'clock in the fore-noon, to answer the claim and you are directed to produce on that day all the documents upon which you intend to rely in support of your defence. You are, further, directed to file your written statement A WEEK BEFORE THE DATE OF HEARING.

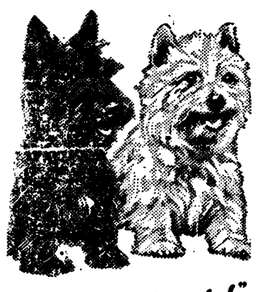
TAKE NOTICE that, in default of your appearance on the day before mentioned, the suit will be heard and determined in your absence.

Given under my hand and the Seal of the court, this 19th day of September, 1944.

Seal of the Court.

A. RAHMAN.
II S. J. II. Cl. Basim.
19-9-44. 409

BLACK & WHITE"



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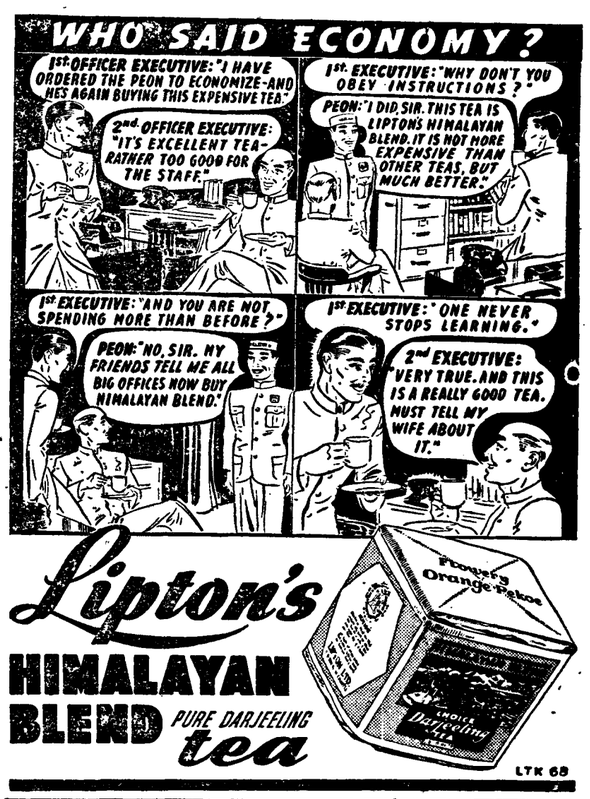
WHO SAID ECONOMY?
1st OFFICER EXECUTIVE: "I HAVE ORDERED THE PEON TO ECONOMIZE-AND HE'S AGAIN BUYING THIS EXPENSIVE TEA."
2nd OFFICER EXECUTIVE: "IT'S EXCELLENT TEA-RATHER TOO GOOD FOR THE STAFF."
1st EXECUTIVE: "WHY DON'T YOU OBEY INSTRUCTIONS?"
PEON: "I DID, SIR. THIS TEA IS LIPTON'S HIMALAYAN BLEND. IT IS NOT MORE EXPENSIVE THAN OTHER TEAS, BUT MUCH BETTER."
1st EXECUTIVE: "AND YOU ARE NOT SPENDING MORE THAN BEFORE?"
PEON: "NO, SIR. MY FRIENDS TELL ME ALL BIG OFFICES NOW BUY HIMALAYAN BLEND."
1st EXECUTIVE: "ONE NEVER STOPS LEARNING."
2nd EXECUTIVE: "VERY TRUE. AND THIS IS A REALLY GOOD TEA. MUST TELL MY WIFE ABOUT IT."
Lipton's
HIMALAYAN BLEND PURE DARJEELING tea
Flower's Orange Pekoe
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CPU. 421

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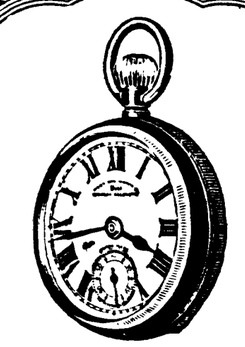

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16" Size
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ISSUED & SUBSCRIBED	Rs.	16,00,000
PAID-UP	Rs.	14,14,580
RESERVES	Rs.	4,12,548
TOTAL WORKING CAPITAL	Exceeds	ONE CRORE & SEVEN LAKHS.

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